FORUM

Copyright 1947, by The Events Publishing Co., Inc.

Vol. CVIII AUGUST, 1947 No. 2

A realistic examination of the electoral process

Proportional Representation Is a Risk

By Ferdinand A. Hermens

Professor of Political Science, University of Notre Dame

In January, February and May, FORUM presented a series of three articles by William Redin Woodward and George H. Hallett, Jr., co-editors of the Proportional Representation Department of *The National Municipal Review*, explaining the fundamental democracy at which proportional representation aims and which it achieves through the Hare system of P.R. The challenge of this highly controversial stand has been taken up by Ferdinand Hermens, author of *Democracy or Anarchy?*

FEW reforms have elicited the sustained support of as many idealists as has proportional representation (hereafter referred to as P.R.). At the same time, few devices are as apt to defeat the aims of its proponents as is this system of voting.

The principal error which misleads the supporters of P.R. is their failure to examine their basic assumptions. Ably and persuasively they point out that our elections often fail to distribute the seats in a legislative body in proportion to the votes cast for the various competing groups. But, is it the purpose of elections merely to reflect the divisions which may exist in a country at a particular time? When, in the summer of 1919, the Italian Chamber of Deputies debated whether it should adopt P.R., Professor Alessio made a speech of warning, proven prophetic in the course of time, in which he said:

> "What . . . is the function of P.R.? It is to create . . . an elected assembly in which the forces of the various parties exist in the same proportion in which they exist in the nation.
>
> "But that, gentlemen, is absurd! Parliament is confused with the nation.
>
> "The nation, gentlemen, has continuity of existence, permanency. . . .
>
> "Parliament has a duration of five years. In this short time it must carry out a program, support a government, or replace it. Its action and purpose cannot be realized without a majority."

Signor Alessio was, evidently, aware of what John Locke called

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"the variety of opinions, and contrariety of interests which unavoidably happen in all collections of men." He knew that if there is to be a democratic government we must go beyond such "variety" and "contrariety." In fact, do we not invite anarchy if we limit ourselves to an attempt to reproduce in a parliamentary body all differences existing in a country, without making any provision for coordination and unity?

Elections under a majority system do take into account the disrupting factors in which society abounds; they offer a way of overcoming potential disintegration by a unifying force which is set in motion by the voluntary action of the voters themselves. Basically, the solution lies in the simple requirement that candidates, in order to be elected, must obtain more than 50 per cent of the valid vote[1]. Proponents of P.R. stop at this figure; they emphasize that 51 per cent may get everything and the 49 per cent nothing. We must go beyond the mathematics, however, and realize the deep sociological implications of the process by which the totals are accumulated. In the first place the process involved is one of persuasion (except in boss govern ment, now happily in decline). W may properly say that governmen by majority is government by per suasion. In the United States thos to be persuaded include Protestant Catholics and Jews, people o North, Central and Southern Eurc pean descent, farmers, workers an businessmen, and besides, vote with a considerable variety of politi cal views. In the doubtful state in particular, which decide victor or defeat in a national election, n party wins which does not succee in rallying a cross section of al major (and some minor) group For this reason the late Thoma Woodlock was right when he said "Democracy is the protection c minorities by the rule of the majo ity." Our majorities in fact ar composed of voters who in thei turn belong to various minorit groups, and who would leave an majority party, causing it to rever to minority status, if their right were violated. The party leader are aware of this fact, and as a re sult they constantly endeavor t broaden the areas of agreemen among their followers, and to nai row down the areas of disagree ment.

P.R., on the other hand, make possible the election of candidate by mere fractions rather than by cross section of *all* the people. *Th Cincinnati Enquirer,* in a front pag editorial, published on June 4 1939, said: "It is clearly apparen that if there were 20,000 Hind voters in Cincinnati they coul elect a representative of their rac to Council just because he is

[1] If more than two candidates are in the running, a candidate may win with less than half of the total vote. Election by mere pluralities is, however, by no means incompatible with the requirements of government by consent. The well-known examples of Woodow Wilson and Fiorello LaGuardia, both of whom were elected to their first terms with about 40 per cent of the vote, demonstrate that such officials will endeavor strongly to govern in such a way as to rally a majority of at least the major party vote when they come up for re-election.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hindu, and without reference to other necessary qualifications." To be more practical, the paper added: "Right now it is better than an even money bet that the next city council will contain at least one Bingo member whose election will be brought to pass by Bingo enthusiasts."

Hindus are pacifists, and Bingo enthusiasts hardly constitute a serious threat to social cohesion. Ours is the time, however, of political extremists of the Fascist, Nazi and Communist type. It is interesting to note that in a decisive number of cases these extremists were unable to secure local strongholds which they would have needed in order to make any headway at all under the majority system. Hitler's Nazis, for example, were in the elections of December, 1924, and in those of 1928 everywhere so utterly weak that, under a majority system, they could not have elected a single candidate. It is unlikely that the National Socialist party could have continued to exist after having been defeated year after year. Probably it would have become defunct and Hitler might have resumed his career as a house-painter.

P.R. elected enough Nazis to keep that party alive even in the lean years, and it made possible an easy and rapid growth when the party could exploit the misery of the depression. One hundred and seven Nazis were elected in September, 1930, the election in which the Weimar Republic suffered a blow from which there was to be no recovery. How would they, even then, have fared under a majority system? If we divide the territory of the Reich into 400 districts of approximately equal size, we find that the Nazi lists did not secure as much as 40 per cent of the total vote cast in a single constituency. What such a result means under the majority system is illustrated by the Progressive movement of 1924. The elder LaFollette obtained 16.2 per cent of the popular vote, in spite of the fact that his ticket could not find a place on the ballot in some states. Hitler secured 18.3 per cent, a very liberal system of P.R. making it possible for him to have his lists appear on the ballots in every precinct in the country. LaFollette secured only the electoral vote of Wisconsin, 2.4 of the total, and his coalition collapsed the day after the votes were counted. Hitler obtained, thanks to P.R., nearly a fifth of the seats in the German Reichstag and was able, in conjunction with the Communists and the Nationalists, both of whom had been favored by P.R. also, to make the normal functioning of parliamentary government impossible.

There are few cases where P.R. is applied as logically, and where its consequences are likely to be as serious, as was the case in the Germany of the Weimar Republic. In Germany the entire country practically formed one large constituency; with a minor modification—adopted to avert the threat of a midwives' party — all local surpluses could be transferred to a national list. Thus a party might secure a substantial number of seats even if it nowhere appealed to more

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

than a tiny fraction of the electorate. Thus full "electoral justice" was done and the results were as described above. It is interesting to note that Thomas Hare, the inventor of the single transferable vote, proposed making England into one single constituency. He frankly stated that in such a case "minorities . . . (will) far exceed the entire number of minorities now existing, by the operation of numberless affinities and compulsions which, in a state of liberation, will dissolve the present majorities."

Modern advocates of P.R. are less consistent. They keep election districts small and do not permit the transfer of surpluses from one district to the other. In Ireland, for example, 15 constituencies elect only three members each. This means that a third of the total vote is needed to make certain of the election of a candidate. At the same time, whichever party secures more than 50 per cent of the total vote obtains two of the three seats. Under such conditions, the typical results of P.R. may be obscured to such an extent that even the election of a majority party to a parliamentary body becomes possible. Let it be added, however, that so far as Ireland is concerned, there remain a sufficient number of large constituencies to cause fears among competent observers that, if the present arrangement is continued, the country may yet travel the path of political disintegration.

Similar considerations apply to the P.R. elections held in France. The number of seats per constituency was deliberately kept down in order to freeze out small parties. This was accomplished to a considerable extent. The wasting of votes on the part of some of the minor groups was enormous. Let it be added that the measures taken against small parties did not make the large parties any more able to govern. In the latest P.R. elections, the Communists became the strongest party, a fact which caused them to increase their claims and made cooperation with them more difficult. Besides, the three major parties are separated so thoroughly by the peculiarities which P.R. allowed them to develop—and which contrast sharply with campaign alliances and campaign understandings concluded before the adoption of P.R.—that the coalitions which they form do *not* coalesce. They are often but a thin disguise for the semi-paralysis which seems to have become a permanent feature. As a result, government authority has been so sadly lacking that the call for the "strong man" reverberates throughout the country.

Many other points could be considered which space limitations prohibit. Let it be remarked in passing, however, that the argument heard so often that political divisions are determined by social divisions to such an extent that systems of voting do not matter, cannot stand comparison with the concrete facts. In Weimar Germany, for example, the only requirement of success was that those members of all social groups who were willing to cooperate on a democratic basis be induced to do so. The majority system would have done this; in no

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

election, up to and including September, 1930, would a combination of Social Democrats and the Center parties have failed to secure a majority. On the other hand, it is easy to see that P.R., regardless of the social structure, would destroy majorities which the plurality system has allowed to develop. Take the case of the present Labor government in England. In spite of its name, had it not had the strong support of middle-class voters — some of whom voted for the Conservatives in the past and may do so again in the future—it would never have come to power. Even with this support the Labor candidates polled only about 48 per cent of the popular vote. Few observers would deny that, under P.R., they would have secured even less, as many voters would have supported Liberal and other minor party candidates if they had had a chance. In other words, the one stable democratic government of a major country now existing in Europe would have been utterly impossible under P.R. No change in the social structure was needed to bring about such a result.

A few words must suffice, also, on the recent history of P.R. in Germany. When, during the Moscow Conference, Molotov insisted on P.R. for all German elections, he only reflected the anxiety of the Communists in the Western zones, who, without P.R., would suffer almost complete defeat practically everywhere. The American delegation took the strange stand that P.R. should be used for the constituent assemblies, but that the Germans should be allowed to choose a different system afterwards. By this time it should be clear that once P.R. has been used it creates so many vested interests that its abolition is all but impossible. Professor Karl Löwenstein, in his thoughtful book, *Political Reconstruction,* proposed, for this reason, the opposite procedure:

"It is suggested . . . that for elections to be a national assembly the majority system should be universally applied. If subsequently the assembly decides, in any country, in favor of proportional representation for future elections, it may do so. The British people were able to retain the beneficial two-party system . . . only because they obstinately refused to be lured into the political quagmire of proportional representation."

The return of P.R. was decided upon in the American zone of Germany without a proper weighing of the issues involved. As soon as informed Germans began to realize what had happened, there arose a vigorous opposition to P.R. A manifesto by a number of leading scholars and writers, published in the Heidelberg monthly, *Die Wandlung,* was followed by nearly 2,000 communications from readers. By March 7, 1947, no fewer than 1901 of these communications had expressed themselves against P.R., and only 73 for it. Similar experiments in Würzburg and Berlin led to similar results. If our aim is to be the democratization of Germany, it is time that our official policy should pay attention to these facts.

In the United States the P.R.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

issue presents itself principally in local government, on which the proponents of P.R. concentrated when it became clear that their chances in state and national government were small. The claim, now frequently advanced, that P.R. is necessary for good government, has no basis in fact. Only about a dozen American cities have P.R.; few would claim that they are all well governed, and no one can deny that at least several hundred cities have good government without having P.R. Nor is there any essential relation between the city manager plan and P.R. There are more than 600 manager cities now; only about 2 per cent have P.R., and at least half of the total have good government.

Some of the more significant aspects of P.R. have been brought to light by its use in New York City. The major newspapers, with the exception of *The New York Sun*, were at first willing to give it a trial. *The Daily News* changed its stand in November, 1937, as soon as the count of the first P.R. ballots made it plain that Fusion had failed to secure control of the P.R. council on the same day when Mayor LaGuardia and his city-wide running mates were, under the plurality system, returned with sweeping majorities. Fusion never did capture the council; the accomplishments of the reform administrations were made possible only through elections held under the plurality system. When, in 1941, the first Communist was elected to the council, *The New York Times* came out against P.R. In 1943, when two Communists and one fellow traveler were elected, the opposition was joined by *The New York Post* and *The World Telegram*. Of the major newspapers, *The Herald Tribune* is now the only one upholding P.R. An editorial published in *The New York Times* of April 2, 1947, commented in these words on the impending attempt to abolish P.R.:

> P.R. as a method of choosing a City Council was adopted by the voters of New York 11 years ago in the belief that it would prevent Tammany domination of the Council by creating an accurately representative opposition to such domination. It has not had this result. It has had the result, rather, of exaggerating small-group representation out of all proportion to the real numerical strength of such groups in the community. The system has made possible and encouraged the election of extremists who could not otherwise hope for public office. It has acted as an instrument of disintegration, fragmentizing the electorate by emphasizing areas of disagreement rather than of agreement. There is now under way a movement to repeal the system through a popular referendum to be held next fall. We wish that movement well.

What *The Times* says is important from the point of view of national as well as of local government. Our cities, to say the least, do not need P.R.; countries using it for national government incur a fatal risk by doing so.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The function of the Russian press is propaganda

The Power of the Soviet Press

By Sidney B. Fay

Professor of History, Emeritus; Harvard University

THE Soviet press today constitutes one of the most important aspects of Russian domestic life and of international politics. It is the great propaganda instrument which is conditioning the minds and thinking of 190,000,000 people. It instills into them fear, suspicion and hatred of capitalist governments of the world. It emphasizes the superiority of the Russian Communist system: the Soviet Union represents democratic progress, equality of opportunity and employment for all. The capitalist powers stand for reaction and imperialism which will inevitably cause their collapse through an economic depression and crisis. The two systems are fundamentally opposed to each other, and Communism will surely triumph over Capitalism.

This Marxist-Lenin ideology fosters a psychology which aims to make the people approve and support all the policies of the Soviet regime. It justifies the present aggressive Russian tactics in Eastern Europe. It might also conceivably, in spite of the Russian people's desire for peace, arouse in them a willingness or even a desire for war against the capitalist "enemy." It fosters illusions, like a Frankenstein monster, which even an absolutist or dictatorial government might not be able to control.

This danger is well illustrated in earlier Russian history. In the 1870's the Tsarist regime had tolerated and even encouraged the so-called "Pan-Slav" Press. This took a nationalistic, jingo attitude, quite outdoing jingoism anywhere else in Europe, championing Russia's ambitions in the Balkans. It was finally the decisive factor which swept Russia into war with Turkey on April 24, 1877. The Tsar and his ministers did not want to fight Turkey. They had held to the belief that they could secure their aims by diplomacy. How unexpectedly they were overtaken by the opening of hostilities is indicated by the fact that, on the very day war was declared, none of the usual preparatory measures had been taken for controlling the telegraph service, which up to noon functioned as usual. It was not until the afternoon that the lines were shut off from accepting and sending private messages so that the telegraph system could be used exclusively for the necessary mobilization orders.

In this connection it might be recalled that, after the Balkan Crisis between Germany and Russia, the Kaiser wrote in English to the Tsar on May 8, 1909:

> My Dear Nicky: . . . The Press has behaved in the basest way against me. I am accused

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

amongst other rot and nonsense of having humiliated Russia. Some of the papers err through ignorance and lack of correct information; they can scarcely see farther than their nose's length. But more dangerous, and at the same time more loathsome, is that part of the Press which writes what it is paid for. The scoundrels who do such dirty work are in no fear of starving. They will always incite the hostility of one nation against the other, and when at last by their hellish devices, they have brought about the much-desired collision, they sit down and watch the fight they organized, resting well assured that the profit will be theirs, no matter what the issue may be. In this way, in 99 cases out of a hundred, what is vulgarly called "public opinion" is a mere forgery. . . . I cannot refrain from a certain feeling of anxiety that, if not contradicted at once, the foul and filthy lies which are freely circulated about my policy and my country, will tend to create bitterness between our two countries by virtue of their constant uncontradicted repetition.

To this, the Tsar replied on May 20:

> My Dear Willy: Everything you write about the Press, as you know from our previous conversations, I agree with completely. It is one of the curses of modern times.—Nicky.

A second reason for the importance and power of the press in Russia today is its prodigious growth as a result of the great strides in education throughout the Soviet Union. Not only have the Soviets introduced universal education for the children. There have also been great efforts to teach adults to read. As a result, millions of Russians have become very avid readers, and newspapers and periodicals form the most interesting and available material.

In 1897, when the first detailed census was taken in Russia, more than 70 per cent of the Tsar's subjects were illiterate. Today, after just half a century, the figure has been more than reversed. It is claimed (probably with some exaggeration) by the *Moscow News*, an English-Language bi-weekly in the capital, that 97 per cent of the people can read. Under the last Tsar, there were only 900 papers and periodicals, most of them with a very small circulation. They were read for the most part only by government bureaucrats, the intelligentsia, and a small bourgeois segment of the population. Today there are more than 9,000 papers, some of them like *Pravda* having circulations which run into the millions. They are read by everybody, including the workers in the factories and the peasants on the farms. This eagerness to read is similarly reflected in the book trade. There are eight times as many books printed and sold in Russia today as before World War I.

Finally, the Soviet press has enormous influence because it is in some respects a better and more efficient press than that of the western world so far as the impact on the minds of the readers is concerned. In the matter of press organization and propaganda the Bolsheviks learned

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

much from Goebbels, as well as from Lenin and his successors, and today the Soviet press is more effective in molding opinion than was Goebbels in Germany. This efficiency is seen in the case of the most influential paper, *Pravda*.

Pravda (Truth) is one of the oldest as well as one of the most influential Soviet metropolitan dailies. It was founded by Lenin himself on May 5, 1912, and recently celebrated its thirty-fifth birthday. Being a revolutionary and opposition sheet prior to 1917, it was frequently suppressed by the Tsarist authorities. But today it has a magnificent, modern, functional, seven-story press building in Moscow, and May 5 has become a press celebration day.

As compared with newspapers of the capitalist world, *Pravda* has many attractive qualities. It is printed on good paper with clear, easily readable type. It ordinarily consists of one folded sheet, making four pages each about the size of the usual American newspaper. It can thus be easily folded up, put in the pocket, and taken home for the rest of the family to read. Except for a brief list, at the bottom of one corner, of the operas and plays being currently given in Moscow, there are no advertisements. In this respect it resembles the experiment that Marshall Field made with *PM*. This absence of advertisements may have a certain economic cause in the fact that there is relatively little for Russians to buy; also in the fact that a four-page paper is very economical in the use of newsprint. There is none of that frightful waste of paper by which our 32-page and 64-page dailies are so recklessly eating up our forests. Soviet writers never tire of asserting that our newspapers are controlled by the advertisers and do not represent the views or the interests of the common man.

In *Pravda* also there are no sensational headlines sometimes giving a slant to the news, and no great banners running across the whole top of a page, as is often the case in our papers. Each article has a single brief heading indicating its subject matter. There are usually no illustrations. Thus, without "ads," padded headlines and illustrations, the four pages of *Pravda* are solid reading. They are the solid meat of propaganda.

Pravda prints in full or in extensive summaries all the speeches of Molotov and other important Soviet officials and its version of the news from all over the world as gathered by its own correspondents or by the single newsgathering agency, *Tass*. Except for the occasional exposure of dishonesty or disloyalty of Soviet officials or writers in much-vaunted "self-criticism," there are no stories of murders, divorces, scandals and other crimes such as so often distract and occupy the attention of readers in this country. In this admirable respect *Pravda* is like the *Christian Science Monitor*. The Soviet citizen's attention is thus concentrated, without any kind of distraction, upon the political news and editorials which government propaganda wants him to absorb.

There are, however, other aspects

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of *Pravda* which, from a western point of view, are less desirable. As stated prominently on its first page, *Pravda* is the organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and of the Moscow branch of the Party. It is thus the official spokesman of the all-powerful group which determines Soviet ideology. It lays down "the Party line" to which all must conform. No other paper, except *Izvestia'* (News), the organ of the Soviet Government as distinct from the Communist Party, would dare to speak until it had got its cue from *Pravda*. As there is only one correct attitude which can be taken by Soviet papers, and as no news can be printed except what is disseminated by *Pravda* and *Izvestia* or by the single official news agency, *Tass*, there is little competition between Soviet newspapers. There is no such effort to make "scoops" in Russia as in the case of newspapers in capitalist countries.

Several days, therefore, often elapse before Russian readers are informed of important political events which would be published within a few hours in the western press. Thus, President Truman's address to Congress on March 12, asking for $400,000,000 for aid to Greece and Turkey, was not mentioned in any Russian papers until *Izvestia* dealt with it on March 14 and *Pravda* on March 16. Even then the President's views were not at all adequately represented. He was accused of unwarranted interference in the internal affairs of the two countries and of sabotaging the United Nations organization by not acting through it. There was no hint that it was against Russian pressure and Communist activities that Greece and Turkey were being given protection; for that would have implied an aggressive policy on the part of the Soviet Union—a fact the Kremlin wished to conceal. Senator Claude Pepper, Henry Wallace and other pro-Russian Americans were cited at length to show that the majority of the American people disapproved of the "Truman Doctrine." Once given their cue, other Russian commentators denounced violently the Truman policy as a dangerous example of American imperialism, dollar diplomacy, and a bare-faced grab to get control of the oil in the Middle East.

Similarly, Secretary of State Marshall's radio broadcast of April 28, summing up pointedly the reasons for the failure of the Moscow Conference of Ministers, was not mentioned in Russia until May 5. Then *Izvestia* gave it a four-column, unsigned, editorial and distorted analysis, with many important omissions. It charged Secretary Marshall "does not conform to the facts" and "gives a picture of the Soviet delegation in a false light" in an obvious effort to create "dissatisfaction" among the American people over the Soviet Union's policy.

The Moscow *Pravda* sells for 20 *copecks*, about three cents. It goes all over the Soviet Union. It also appears in nine provincial editions, the plate material being flown daily from Moscow for the local editions. Its total circulation is said to reach the gigantic figure of 4,500,000.

Besides the dailies, *Pravda* and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

vestia, there are many other pa-ers and magazines which circulate om Moscow throughout the Soviet Union. *Novoe Vremya* (New imes), a weekly printed in Rus-an, English, French and German ditions, deals mainly with inter-ational affairs and has many arti-es on conditions in the United tates; their tone may be indicated y an article in December, 1946, hich said that John L. Lewis, nce he parted company with Pres-ident Roosevelt and called off the oal strike, is now regarded by mericans as a "reactionary."

Trud (Labor), organ of the rade unions, deals with labor or-anizations and conditions in for-ign countries as well as in Russia. *Krasnaya Zvezda* (Red Star) and *Krasnyi Flot* (Red Fleet) are the rgans of the Soviet Army and Navy respectively, but contain po-itical as well as technical articles. For the indoctrination of Commu-ist youth there is *Konsomolskaya Pravda,* and a similar paper for 'pioneers," i.e., small children.

All these, and many others, cir-ulate throughout the Soviet Union, adiating the controlling influence f Moscow. Thus, in the press in-luence of the capital upon the rest f the country, Russia is like Eng-and and France, where the papers f London and Paris are dominant, nd unlike Germany and the United States where there are important apers in widely separated cities.

Revolutionary propaganda, said Lenin in 1912, is the chief business of the press. Propaganda today is exclusively a function of the Com-munist Party apparatus and not of the government. Working directly under the Central Committee of the Party, the Administration of Propaganda and Agitation organ-izes and controls all propaganda throughout the Soviet Union. Each of the 16 Soviet republics and their various subdivisions has its analo-gous Department of Propaganda and Agitation, which takes its orders from the next highest department. The Press Section of the Admin-istration appoints the editors of the leading organs like *Pravda* and *Izvestia* and supervises their edito-rial policy. All other editors, in-cluding those of the smaller areas, must be approved by the central Ad-ministration in Moscow.

THE PARTY

Party monopoly and control makes available the printing presses, stocks of paper, communications fa-cilities. Not only must all prop-aganda material conform strictly to the Party doctrines, but all the thou-sands of editors and publishers must pass through the rigorous tests of the Party. These Party members are carefully trained at special schools for their jobs, so that all matter appearing in the papers is actually censored in the minds of the writers before it appears in print. There are also constant directives from Moscow telling what to stress and what to suppress. As a triple check there is a licensing and censoring bureau (*Glavlit*) under the People's Commissariat of Public Instruction.

This system of tight control ren-ders illusory what would be an American interpretation of the arti-cle in the 1936 Soviet Constitution which guarantees freedom of the press.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The same control extends to the members of *Tass* (Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union). Except for *Pravda* and *Izvestia* which have a few correspondents of their own but which largely depend upon *Tass, Tass* has the exclusive monopoly of gathering and supplying telegraphic foreign news to the Soviet press. This asssures that all despatches will have the proper propagandist slant and selection of material. It also keeps the cost of newsgathering to a minimum, especially as *Tass* employs relatively few correspondents as compared with Reuters, the Associated Press or the United Press. For covering the meetings of the United Nations and its committees in New York, for instance, *Tass* has a staff of only a dozen persons, several of whom are only secretaries or stenographers.

A few examples of constantly recurring themes in the Soviet press will serve to indicate the kind of picture Russians are given of world events and conditions outside Russia.

Russia won the war almost alone. Even during the war, Russian leaders and papers said almost nothing about the vast supplies afforded to her by Lend-Lease. The Russian soldier was led to believe that the thousands of trucks shipped from America were made in Soviet factories. General Eisenhower reports a Russian soldier who had seen the American army as saying, "How did the Americans get all these Russian jeeps?"

The official 1947 biography of Stalin, quoted in *Pravda,* says: "The successful execution of Stalin's strategic plan in 1944 . . . meant that the Soviet Union was in a position without the aid of the Allies and by its own forces to occupy all Germany and to carry out the liberation of France. This induced Churchill, hitherto opposed to opening a second front in Europe, to undertake the invasion of western Europe in June, 1944." One of the leading Russian historians, Eugene Tarle, not mentioning the Allied landing in Normandy and campaign in France and Germany, wrote in *Trud* in May, 1947: "The Soviet Army bore nearly the entire brunt of the war without receiving any appreciable aid at the fronts during the most dangerous and most critical days of the deadly struggle." This thesis that Russia alone won the war partly explains why Molotov insists that she is justified in demanding impossible reparations from Germany.

Economic crisis is inevitable in the United States. This is part of the Marx-Lenin doctrine that the capitalists, as a result of strikes and class warfare, are their own gravediggers. Hardly was the war ended when the *New Times* on June 1, 1945, announced that in the United States "mass dismissals have already commenced. Women and Negroes are the first to go. . . . Mass unemployment is casting its shadow before."

Fifteen months later *Pravda* (October 28, 1946) was still sure that "the rise of unemployment heralds a further aggravation of the contradictions of capitalism. . . . Monopoly capitalism is utterly unable to do away with anarchy in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

production." Again on April 28, 1947, one of *Pravda's* leading writers assured his readers that the strike movement in the United States "is assuming an extensive and steadily increasing scope," while the workers experience "an increase in unemployment and poverty" in conflict with the vast increase in the "wealth, luxury and parasitic way of living" of the rich. In contrast is the full employment, well regulated economy and democratic equality in the Soviet Union.

American policy is motivated by dollar imperialism, bribery and blackmail. In the Near East, where America was spending millions to keep people from starving, "the putrid smell of oil diplomacy" (*Pravda,* June 4, 1946) was already evident months before the "Truman Doctrine" of March 12, 1947, was announced. About this Ilya Ehrenburg wrote in an open letter to David Lawrence (*Culture and Life,* April): "You are not giving, but buying and bribing. You are not thinking of bread for the starving Greeks, but of oil for America."

And not in Europe alone. "The United States threatens the vital interests of the Latin American peoples. . . . The combination of atomic and dollar diplomacy produces that brand of power politics to which the United States is resorting with ever increasing frequency in foreign affairs" (*Krasnaya Zvezda,* December 11, 1946).

Secretary of State Marshall's recent invitation to Russia to join with the other countries of Europe to draw up some plan of economic rehabilitation to which the United States would then give further financial assistance was quickly rejected by *Pravda* (June 16, 1947): "Any Government which undertakes maneuvers aimed at obstructing the restoration of other countries cannot expect aid from us [Russians]."

These and similar examples could be multiplied indefinitely. It would be difficult to say how far they are inspired by genuine belief in Marxian ideology, how far by wishful thinking, and how far by propagandist purposes.

So long as the Soviet press nourishes these and similar distorted illusions, and so long as the Soviet dictatorship keeps its people isolated as far as possible from a true and unbiased view of the non-Russian world, there can be little hope for a genuine understanding. There can be little prospect of the "One World" proclaimed with such misleading and excessive optimism the moment Nazism and Fascism were crushed.

What can be done about this tragic situation? Certainly we should not get over-excited and pessimistic about it. It is a great mistake to indulge in loose talk about a war with Russia being "inevitable"; such talk only tends to make it more likely. No doubt, as Willy wrote to Nicky, there is grave danger in propagandist press misrepresentation. But neither the Western world nor the Soviet Union wants war, or has at present the strength to wage it successfully. So if we remember this, and if we keep in mind that the Russian press attacks are not addressed to the Western

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

world but are designed primarily as propaganda for Russian home consumption, we do not need to get over-excited. Creating illusions is the Soviet Union's own domestic affair.

There are, however, several ways by which one may hope that a trickle of outside objective information, however slight, may gradually filter in to the millions behind the Iron Curtain. One is "The Voice of America," the daily broadcast in Russian by the American State Department which started early in 1947. Unfortunately it met with some unjustified objections from the Associated Press and some members of Congress. But it is greatly to be hoped that a sufficient grant of money by Congress will make it possible to continue to give those few Russians who have receiving sets a plain and unbiased, factual statement about world events and conditions outside th Iron Curtain.

Another way of finding a chann for freedom of the press everywhe and for the exchange of truthfu information between nations w discussed by a committee of t United Nations in May and Jun 1947. This committee drew up detailed program under five hea ings: (1) measures to facilitate t gathering of news; (2) measur to facilitate the international tran mission of news; (3) measures implement the right of all perso and peoples to accurate, compr hensive and representative inform tion; (4) measures for the organ zation, in all principal news cente in the world, of foreign correspo dents with strict self-administer codes of ethics; and (5) measur for providing continuing machine to promote the free flow of tr information.

Lockwood Barr, former managing editor of *The Wall Street Journal,* numbers collecting ads among his many hobbies. The following are some of the best in his collection:

Young man who gets paid on Monday and is broke on Wednesday would like to exchange small loans with a young man who gets paid on Wednesday and is broke on Monday.

Positively no more baptizing in my pasture. Twice in the last two months my gate has been left open by Christian people, and before I chase my heifers all over the country again all the sinners can go to purgatory.

Found: lady's purse left in my car while parked. Owner can have same by describing property and paying for this "ad." If owner can explain satisfactorily to my wife how purse got into car, will pay for ad myself.

Anyone found near my chicken house at night will be found there next morning.

Brave man wanted to curry lions. Funeral expenses guaranteed.

Wanted: an attractive sales girl. Must be respectable, 'till after Christmas.

Monday morning breakfast: pitcher of ice water, glass of tomato juice, two aspirins, cup of black coffee and our sympathy, all for 30 cents.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The pitfalls of dogmatic education

Shall We Indoctrinate Our Children?

By Monroe C. Beardsley

Department of Philosophy, Yale University

WHEN the sick man dies, the doctor knows that his medical skill has failed—that his knowledge is not adequate to the disease. But for the success or failure of education there is as yet no such simple, if drastic, test. When we try to discover where we have been successful, and where unsuccessful, in our schools and colleges, we are a little like the parent with a coughing child. If the vaporizer doesn't stop the cough in half an hour, we don't know whether we have tried it too long, or not long enough—whether we were on the right track, but didn't go far enough, or whether we were on the wrong track altogether. But we can at least keep in mind that both are possibilities — and arrange our further experiments accordingly. A good deal of alarm about progressive schools, for example, in the light of increasing juvenile delinquency, arises from the assumption that one of these possibilities is the *only* one.

The really alarming thing about some current attitudes towards education is that, while psychologists and educators have been making slow progress toward well-grounded knowledge of what we must do to educate successfully, our impatience with their lack of utter success has grown disproportionately. And this has provided a body of prejudice only too easily exploited by those who have long been wishing to scrap the whole enterprise of a scientific or empirical approach to educational problems, perhaps before it is given a chance to succeed.

The more or less open proposals to turn our schools—from bottom to top—primarily into instruments of social uniformity in belief and attitude, have been advanced in the form of a defense of "indoctrination." When little Sally comes home from grammar school with some uncomfortably decided opinions about the "rights" which she has decided to demand of her parents; when Henry comes home from high school after studying local economic conditions (through discussions and field-trips), and announces that he is, in principle, a Communist; or when Mary returns from her Freshman year at college with, at least temporarily, no trace of the religious beliefs which she was thought to have taken with her—when such things happen, it is often the occasion for worried adults to begin muttering that "this has gone too far"—that "perhaps there is a little *too* much liberty allowed in their studies"—that, in fact, what is missing is a downright affirmation of fundamental truths, in the place of what would seem to be deliberately cultivated skepticism. The

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

consequent proposals follow in line: a little less encouragement in the open-minded observation of what goes on in the world, but a little more devotion to the glowing high-spots of American history; a little less frank discussion of whether "petting" is right or wrong, but a little more instruction in the principles of Christian ethics; a little less emphasis on "thinking for oneself," but a little more insistence upon authority, on letting those who are "competent to think" do the thinking. In short, a good deal more "indoctrination."

DEFINITIONS

The term "indoctrination" is a very ambiguous one, which has meant many good, many harmless and many harmful things. In Army terms, it meant trying to help soldiers think what they were fighting about, rather than ignoring the problem completely. This is unexceptionable. Sometimes those who use the term mean that they wish students to have some acquaintance with principles—such as "inalienable rights," or "rugged individualism," or "the dignity of man"—which have in fact operated, and now operate, in many minds as basic, if roughly-formulated, assumptions of democracy. And this is certainly important. The serious issues arise, however, at that point at which "indoctrination" is opposed to "thinking for oneself."

In one sense, which I shall not insist upon, but which ought always to be kept in mind, the phrase "thinking for oneself" is a peculiar one: it has no opposite. No one can let anyone do his thinking for him, any more than he can delegate someone else to do his eating or feel his pain. But these analogies suggest the underlying meaning of the phrase. A person *can* let a food-chopper do his chewing for him; he *can* let laboratory enzymes do his digesting for him; the result he can assimilate by mechanical means. And a person can, in one sense, let someone else feel his earache—not by transferring it bodily, but by punching the other person in the ear. Similarly, a person can *refuse* to think at all, and do what he is told to do by someone else, without asking why. This does not mean necessarily that the other person has done any thinking; it is not a substitution of thought, but a substitution of will. And a person who has thought out a certain conclusion can simply defer to the contrary opinion of someone else, on the ground that the other person is in a better position to know. This is the old problem of authority, and the crux of the matter is that a person who bows to authority because he has *reasons* for thinking the authority a reliable one is still a *reasoning* person, is still "thinking for himself."

It is not hard to see the plausibility in the doctrine of "indoctrination." We can see our most basic religious, political and moral beliefs dissolved by what Walter Lippmann called "the acids of modernity." We see wide differences of opinion, bitter cleavages and endless degrees of skepticism with regard to the possibility of achieving any truth about what is good, right or just. And it is natural, in terms

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the traditional psychology which is still our popular science, to think that if we could begin early enough, and carry on consistently enough, we could achieve a wide agreement in moral principle and philosophical belief by simply telling our students, over and over again, that certain things are right and certain things are wrong, certain things true and certain things false. In our more harassed moments—when an adolescent killer testifies to an utter indifference to human life, or when a young "Columbian" reveals that he found nothing in his Princeton education to convince him that fascism is wrong, or when a distinguished public man betrays no sense of ethical awareness of the human rights of Negroes—at such times, we envy the apparent sweet tractableness of little Communists, little Fundamentalists, or little Hopi, because they do not rebel, or doubt, or challenge the ways they have been taught. Sometimes we are tempted toward the most drastic drug to stop the intellectual growing pains that are so apparent in our schools, before they ripen into moral sickness. What we do not easily see is the price that Communists, Fundamentalists and Hopi have to pay for their apparent, for their at least superficial unity of belief. We do not see that the only lasting cures of growing pains are senility and *rigor mortis*.

The proposal to substitute enunciation of dogma for encouragement of individual inquiry in the education of the young is a proposal which rests upon a fundamental misconception about the role that attitudes and words play in learning. This confusion may be illustrated from a problem that is central to current discussion.

We almost all agree that we want our children to grow up "democratic"; we may not all be able to say precisely what we subsume under this term, but I think that some of its elements may be fairly simply stated. We want them (1) to have enough confidence in the institutions of Congress, courts, and elections, so that, even when the going is rough, they will prefer to continue the experiment for a time in the hope that it will turn out successfully. We want them (2) to be willing to submit their opinions for discussion, open to criticism; that is, to be able to share cooperatively in planning the future of society; (3) to make their decisions, in voting and serving on juries, on the basis of empirical evidence rather than prejudice; (4) to be understanding of people with different loyalties or different genes, that is, to be able to see in them, no matter how high passion runs, the bearers of equal rights before the law. And we want them (5) to be at the same time devoted to the best for which our society stands and yet flexible in devotion; that is, objective enough to see that any society fulfills its own ideals incompletely and that it must consequently heed criticisms from within or abroad.

Some readers would wish to qualify these criteria in various ways; they are certainly open to considerable analysis and criticism. But if they are acceptable as a working definition of "democratic," they provide an instance of what I mean

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by the fallacy of the indoctrinator. It is an over-statement (but a good one to begin with) to say that children are *not* made democratic by telling them to be democratic. This overstatement contains a fundamental psychological truth which was recognized by Aristotle and by traditional theology—but it is a truth which did not generally prevail in modern education, and could not prevail until modern psychology gave it precision and empirical proof. Little Communists are not made so by reciting passages from Marx in grammar schools; they are made so by *living* a Communist life, and by being made constantly aware of the good Communistic features of their environment. They acquire Communist attitudes (that is, the tendency to respond Communistically, so to speak, to situations), as the Hopi children acquire Hopi customs—at the non-verbal level. The most important factor in grammar-school education is not what sentences are memorized, but what kinds of action are fostered in the daily life of the school.

DEMOCRATIC EXPERIENCE

A teacher can extoll the virtues of democracy, require salutes to the flag, tell stories about the virtues of Lincoln, and demand recitations of the Declaration of Independence, for weeks on end—and her pupils will learn the *sounds* of democracy. But if she runs her class with rigorous rules, laid down absolutely and without understanding; if she will not encourage her pupils to differ from her in opinion, or take them out for experience of the actual social institutions in which the democratic ideas are best realized; if she relies on force and prestige to lead them—in short, if she does not have a democratic society for them to live in—they will learn not democracy, but totalitarianism. Another teacher may say nothing about democracy at all, and yet guide her students to be independent, critical, free in expression. She may show that she respects their opinions even when she disagrees with them. She may make her rules intelligible, and permit her students to share in the making of the rules. She may inspire them to see the why and the how of things; and these pupils will come out with democratic attitudes ingrained in their very muscular and nervous systems. They will respect each other's opinions; they will cooperate and take turns; they will be more patient with the dull and quicker to recognize real ability where it lies. They will have confidence in human reason to solve problems; they will be open to reasonable persuasion. They will know how to change their minds gracefully and gratefully, without false pride, when the evidence inclines that way.

If I have understated the importance of words at the early level of education, it is not to deny their role, but to insist upon what is primary. When the words *do* become important, they will have a meaning for these latter children which they will never have for the former. For they will correspond to real experience. On the high school and college levels the process of learning to be democratic becomes much more complex—it in-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

volves abstract ideas and philosophies. More or less unconscious development of attitudes will still continue, but the college student can be aware of a wide disparity between the benevolent theories and tyrannical practices of his college instructor without succumbing to the bitter feeling that all benevolence is hypocrisy.

When we read arguments for more "indoctrination" of democratic principles in college, we must again bear in mind the ambiguity of the word. For it is true that we have had decades of a "free elective" system that permitted many students to graduate without ever having seriously studied these principles at all. It is partly a realization of the absurdity and wrongness of this intellectual vacuum that has been leading many colleges toward planned curricula, programs of directed and correllated studies, to ensure that every student will have at least been exposed to the challenge of these principles. And if this is what "indoctrination" means, it is surely admirable. But many intend something more drastic and more dangerous — to them "indoctrination" means dogma. And this sort of indoctrinator is faced with two choices, neither of which is welcome to him. He may be able to prevent his college students from reflecting about justice, or truth, or God, or right—at least he can try. But if he talks about them at all, he is going to start somebody thinking; he is going to be asked what his reasons are and whether he is consistent in his statements. And before he knows it, he will have them "thinking for themselves"; perhaps not very well, and perhaps with poor guidance, but somewhat. The only way he can really teach them democracy, once this happens, is to set them thinking it through to the bottom: examining its reason and its evidence, freely weighing it with totalitarian systems, in the light of experience and in the spirit of philosophy.

DILEMMA

The indoctrinator presents us with a choice which he thinks the present world puts upon us: shall our young people be brought up to be "moral" or "rational"? He may deplore the sad necessity, but he admits it: if they are encouraged to be rational, they will be skeptical sometimes; if skepticism is our greatest danger, then it is better to be dull but good. If this were our choice, we should certainly be lost. With our complicated set of gadgets (mechanical and political) to work in order to survive, we have more need for rational people than ever before, and yet a corresponding need for morality is imposed upon us by the very terror of the gadgets themselves. But the dilemma is real only if morality be identified with unthinking acquiescence in authoritative or customary patterns of behavior, or if rationality be identified with having different opinions just to be different. If morality involves a positive and active willingness to achieve some definite good for society, and if rationality involves the ability to discriminate, predict, judge, and work out likely ways of achievement, then the democratic virtues referred to above are not an inherently impossible goal.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

To discuss in detail the positive aims of education, both on the level of attitude and on the level of rational reflection, would take us beyond the present bounds. But, in conclusion, something might be added to reaffirm the positive values of free discussion, encouragement of observation and reasoning, which are essential to our education. One of the main purposes of the schools, less often stressed than others, is precisely to release the potential rationality of our citizens, to make it available to society. In terms of modern psychology, we can still realize, with Aristotle, that man is a rational animal, but we now know some things about the conditions of his rationality which Aristotle did not. We know that it is not to be taken for granted, that it enjoys a precarious dependence upon other things. We have seen how a combination of circumstances can make whole nations irrational, drive them over into short-sightedness and folly, into mystical theories of blood and war. We know well that constant tension, daily humiliation, hopeless poverty, the frustrations of monotonous and dirty jobs, fear and worry, can squeeze out the power of men to think clearly, to take the long-range view, to remember that in letting other people criticise their opinions they are doing themselves a favor by protecting themselves against illusion.

In a democratic society every man can affect the destiny of all, and none of us is safe unless most of us are reasonable. It belongs to the duty of the whole society to foster and enlarge rationality, and this duty is concentrated in our schools. Every time we ask a student to believe something without good reason, to bow to opinion because it is well-armed or well-heeled, to take somebody's word instead of testing the belief in his own experience or his laboratory—every time we do these things we are narrowing his capacity to think; we are making him less reasonable. And we are making him a little easier mark for the cunning demagogue, for the eloquent man on horseback, for the Communist armed with ready-made answers to all questions. When we tell him a truth dogmatically, we may not be deceiving him, but we are making him easier to deceive. We are weakening his precious habit of asking "why."

This is the perspective which I think we should take on the admitted perils of education. We can never have too much reasonableness about us, and we can never attain and preserve it unless we encourage criticism, doubt, "thinking for oneself." When we are tempted to believe, then, that we have gone too far in the direction of encouraging independence of thought, we can look about at those parts of society which are most irrational and undemocratic in their behavior. And we can ask the crucial question: in these cases, have we gone too far, or not nearly far enough?

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Two Years After Potsdam

By Felix E. Hirsch

Professor of European History and Librarian at Bard College; former political editor of the *Berliner Tageblatt*

TWO years have passed since the Potsdam agreement was released to the world press. Grim amusement can be had by thumbing through the newspapers of August, 1945. A look at *The New York Times,* in some ways the most enlightened American paper in its treatment of international relations, may suffice here. On August 3, 1945, the editorial, though reserving final judgment for a later moment, called the Potsdam plan "impressive" and claimed that "the agreements are momentous as a proof of unified policy and as the key to European peace." The editorial writer felt that "as far as the German people are concerned, the terms are not hopeless." The next day, Anne O'Hare McCormick started an otherwise very able column with the prediction which she hardly would care to repeat today: "No man living, certainly not the three men who signed them, will see the effects of the decisions made at Potsdam." Then, on Sunday, August 5, 1945, the editorial writer was ready to pass his final verdict: "The general spirit of the Potsdam decisions expresses the war aims of the American people." This endorsement was given at about the same time as the London *Economist,* spokesman of the political élite in a country which had suffered so much more from reckless Nazi warfare than did the United States, condemned, in a scathing attack, the Potsdam agreement and the whole mental attitude underlying it.

The experience of the last two years, unfortunately, has proved that the critical opinion of the English journal was more valid than the sympathetic American newspaper comments. Today, no respectable political analyst in this country has the faintest praise left for the Potsdam compromise, and the leading statesmen in Washington seem fully aware of the urgent necessity to substitute a more constructive arrangement for it. Nobody now wishes to associate himself with the economic ideas of Henry Morgenthau, Jr., which exerted so strong an influence on President Roosevelt's thinking in the last stages of the war. Morgenthau's book, *Germany Is Our Problem,* published in 1945, looks like a monument of an almost forgotten past. The thesis which he propounded there, that Germany's clock should be turned back and the largest industrial area of the continent be transformed into green pastures, sounds untenable in the face of the economic disaster now engulfing the whole of Europe.

Besides establishing certain political principles for the four zones of occupation and turning the fertile

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

provinces of Eastern Germany over to the Poles, the Potsdam agreement had three basic economic aims. Its authors wished to eliminate the war potential of German industry, to recompensate the Allies, as far as possible, for the damage caused by Nazi aggression, and to grant the vanquished an opportunity to prepare for the eventual reconstruction of their life on a democratic and peaceful basis. "The initial economic elements of such opportunity are a living standard not exceeding the European average and ability to subsist (including the ability to pay for essential imports) without external assistance," says the Department of State in an authoritative publication, *United States Economic Policy Toward Germany*. Therefore, it may be appropriate to examine the actual living standard in Germany of 1947.

FOOD

Private letters from dyed-in-the-wool anti-Nazis, (there are far more of them than our wartime propaganda induced the public to believe), tell a horrible story. The letters sound all alike, regardless of the zone of occupation from which they come, and they now contain a note of urgency which was absent a year ago. The kindly widow of a life-long democrat who recently died from hunger tuberculosis recently wrote from a town in Upper Bavaria: "These last weeks were doubly hard in the whole hopelessness which more and more takes hold of Germany. Every day one has to brace oneself in order not to succumb to despair or melancholy." From Stuttgart, the capital of agricultural Württemberg, suddenly come alarming requests for help. However, in the neighboring French zone it is even worse. In Berlin there is no milk, cheese, rice, cocoa or coffee available and very little fat and meat, writes my correspondent whose wife just suffered from the sudden attack of a hunger disease. The widow of a famous historian living in Göttingen (British zone), who a year ago refused to discuss such prosaic topics as groceries, now, after a serious heart attack, cannot restrain herself. "We live here as if it were at the foot of the Vesuvius. . . . The main energies of everybody are exhausted by worrying about the daily bread. The most modest person cannot exist on the rations provided by the government. Happy the man who has at least some potatoes! Even the hospitals cannot feed the patients properly. . . ."

Some people who receive such letters may be inclined to shrug their shoulders and say, "The Germans had it coming to them. They deserve no mercy after the monstrous crimes they committed under Hitler. We don't care for their sob stories." This has been, for instance, the attitude of Thomas Mann who only recently voiced, in very stern words, his discomfort about the German tendency toward self-pity, which he views as just another expression of national egotism. Even the most vengeful observer, however, is obliged to admit that there is a close tie between Germany's food situation and her industrial production. *The Manchester Guardian Weekly*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of June 19, 1947, bluntly states 'that nothing much can be done with Western Germany unless there is an improvement not only in the quantity but in the quality of the German ration.... The more closely we link the German diet to German productive effort, the better." What may be expected of a miner who is not assured of a regular supply of bread and fat? The *Handelsblatt* in Düsseldorf answers this question by the statistical observation that the labor force in the British zone is today six per cent larger than it was in 1938, but how ridiculously little coal and other essentials do the workers now produce! As long as the anthracite output remains far below normal, most industrial plants can't operate properly; few trains will run. The shortage of practically all consumer goods and the dangerously low export rate will continue. We dare not think of another icy cold winter which the population would have to spend in unheated dwellings.

Naturally, food shortages of this kind have also dire political consequences. They have played into the hands of the Russians who can point to the fact that the situation in their own zone of occupation (with its large agricultural surplus districts) is less threatening. The mounting discontent with the rationing system, as evidenced in the hunger demonstrations and work stoppages in Düsseldorf and many other industrial cities of the West, has also tended to strengthen the hand of the German Communists. In fact, starvation is the only promising propaganda topic which they possess in an area where the workers are the most solid supporters of democracy and where they vote traditionally either the Social Democrat or the Christian Democrat ticket. When the demonstrating masses carried banners saying, "We don't want calories, we want bread!" they overlooked the fact that part of the blame falls on their own countrymen. For the German farmers have been increasingly reluctant to deliver their products to the regular markets. They prefer in many cases to hold them back as long as possible or to collaborate with the prosperous black market. One may somehow sympathize with their contention that the German paper money which they receive in return for grain and dairy products has little purchasing power, but on the other hand their selfishness greatly contributes to the present emergency situation. There have been also continuous complaints about inefficient food administration by German government agencies.

The German worker, however, is not only disturbed by the lack of a square meal. He has also the nightmare that the industrial plant which employs him, might be dismantled before long, in compliance with some reparation clauses of the Potsdam agreement. Karl Arnold, the new prime minister of the state North Rhine-Westphalia, is one of the most level-headed and cooperative leaders of the Christian Democratic Party. But even he felt obliged to issue a solemn warning to the Allies and especially to the English. All discussions about a new economic order, as the Attlee

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

government has in mind for the British zone, are pure waste of time, Arnold said, if the Germans are not allowed to know what economic strength would be left to them. There would have to be an end to the continued dismantling of German peaceful industries and to the fear which weighs on workers and employers alike of losing their jobs forever. Arnold's pronunciamento climaxed in the words: "Nobody in Germany objects to the dismantling of war industry, but the destruction of peaceful productive plants is regarded by the people as a continuation of war by other means." Arnold's protest is not just an attempt to coin nationalistic phrases. Some months ago, an observer of unexceptionable integrity, the well-known English left-wing publisher Victor Gollancz, objected violently in the *New Statesman and Nation* to "the muddle and irrationality with which we are handling German industry." In a report on a journey through the British zone, he told how large industrial cities like Dortmund and Düsseldorf and seaports like Hamburg and Kiel were doomed by the "reparations monster."

This, in brief outline, is the actual situation created by the Potsdam agreement. Or, to put the facts into the form of comparative statistics: in the British-American zones of Germany the agricultural production amounts to 75 per cent of pre-war years (and these zones were then chiefly fed by the now unavailable surplus from Eastern Germany); industrial production stands at 30 per cent and exports at only 4 per cent! The American public, which, as mentioned above, had originally greeted the work of the "Big Three" with respectful applause, gradually turned to a more sober appraisal, particularly when facing the odd necessity to contribute enormous sums for the relief of the defeated enemy nation. The addresses of former Secretary of State James F. Byrnes in Stuttgart last September and of the Republican expert John Foster Dulles before the National Publishers Association last January were two milestones in the re-thinking of the whole problem. But since then the economic crisis of Germany has entered such a galloping stage that it threatens the all too slow recovery of the rest of Europe. New concepts seemed necessary to cope with the emergency. One element of trouble became crystal-clear in the last four or five months. The American and British delegates at the Moscow conference found, in the course of tedious negotiations, that there is little hope for an early agreement with the Russians on workable peace treaties for Germany and Austria. It may take years till the wartime allies may get together, if ever, on a permanent settlement for Central Europe.

The sad lessons of Moscow induced former President Herbert Hoover, whose wise counsel on world affairs is suddenly being avidly sought by Republicans and Democrats alike in Washington, to make a revolutionary proposal. He suggested in a letter of May 26 to Representative John Taber, Chairman of the House Appropriations

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Committee, that the United States and Britain conclude a separate peace with their merged zones of Germany, if the next conference of Foreign Ministers did not succeed in formulating more constructive policies. Hoover expressed himself in favor of a temporary, centralized German government for the two zones. He requested revision of the reparations and industrial demilitarization policies, "if we are to secure adequate exports with which they [the Germans] can pay for food." The whole concept of "levels of industry" which prevented the rehabilitation of many important fields of production, should be dropped; Hoover wishes to place restrictions only on a few specified industries, such as shipping and aviation. No plant which could make peacetime goods and services, should be destroyed or removed from now on. He brands the folly of those who believe that any consequential reparations could be secured by removal of these plants.

Hoover's ideas, for which he would have been ostracized had he dared to express them in 1945, were well received on Capitol Hill. Also many press comments were favorable, even though, for instance, *The New York Herald Tribune* in its editorial urged caution, lest a separate peace were founded only on fear or hatred of the Soviet Union, instead of being a positive and creative solution for appalling problems. These words impress this writer as a realistic and judicious approach.

Right on the heels of Hoover's letter followed a significant announcement made jointly by General Lucius D. Clay, United States military governor in Berlin, and Lieutenant General Sir Brian Robertson, his British colleague. They instituted, as of June 10, an economic council as the chief German agency under the military government. According to the Associated Press, it is composed of 54 representatives chosen by the state legislatures; the eight state governments appointed one member each of an executive committee. While the council, naturally, could include, for the time being, only the leading German figures of the British and American zones, the French and Russians were officially invited to let representatives of their zones participate. This polite gesture was, however, soon answered by a rival Russian project to establish a permanent German economic commission which should formulate and execute measures deemed essential for the revival of economy in their zone.

The economic council set up by Generals Clay and Robertson was charged by its sponsors with the task of proposing "for the approval of the military government, general policies for the permissible economic reconstruction of both zones as an integrated economic area, and the necessary ordinances, in accordance with the principles adopted in the Potsdam protocol." Under this council the executive committee is to function; it is to coordinate and supervise the work of existing economic agencies, and is entitled to issue a wide variety of laws. Delbert Clark, in one of his well-informed dispatches from Berlin to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The New York Times, likens this committee to a chief executive carrying out the will of his parliament.

The new economic council will probably be merely the vanguard of political unification, which seems inevitable in the long run even though Clay and Robertson underscore their desire to adhere to the principle of decentralization in administration. The council is granted the power to adopt and promulgate ordinances on a wide range of vital problems. They include administration of railways, seaports, coastal shipping, inland water transport, inter-state highways, communications and postal services. Then there is the whole field of production, allocation and distribution of goods and food, price formation and price control, foreign and internal trade, public finance, credit and currency, to mention but the most significant items on the long list. Delbert Clark is right in calling the council "in effect, a government of Western Germany, the only reservation being that it is not permitted to call itself a government." He believes that the proclamation actually reversed the entire United States policy toward Germany; the near future will tell whether or not he is correct. In any event, the leaders of the democratic parties in Germany seem pleased about this step forward. Their thoughts are probably best summed up in an article by Friedrich Stampfer, one of the exiled spokesmen of the German Social Democratic Party, who in the *Neue Volkszeitung* (New York) calls the proclamation of Generals Clay and Robertson a victory of logic: "You cannot aim simultaneously at the economic reconstruction of Europe and the Balkanization of Germany."

Shortly after the American and British military governments had shown their willingness to turn over a new leaf, the minister presidents of all German states assembled in Munich to study possibilities for improving conditions in the four zones. The conference was torpedoed almost at the start by the five minister presidents from the Russian zone. They insisted the only item on the agenda should be the establishment of a central German government, and when they did not succeed with their propaganda move, they walked out, not without denouncing their non-communist colleagues from the Western zones.

The proclamation of Berlin, taken by itself, seemed to evidence just a change of attitude towards the German problem. A few days later Secretary of State George C. Marshall showed in his commencement address at Harvard University, that the American government thinks in much larger terms and that the bold measure taken by General Clay is only part of an imposing scheme which envisions America's constructive cooperation in the recovery of the whole European continent. Marshall's words certainly apply to the German crisis of today: "The remedy lies in breaking the vicious circle and restoring the confidence of the European people in the economic future of their own countries and of Europe as a whole."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A debate in the United States Senate won by supporters of freeing the railroads

Anti-Trust Laws for Railroads

THE Reed-Bullwinkle Bill, which passed the Senate on June 8, is designed to free the railroads rom the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. t, of course, met with violent oppo- ıtion in the Senate.

First of all it was opposed by the nen who, like Senator Toby of New Hampshire, fear monopoly in ny form. In addition it was op- ɔosed by Western and Southern ɔenators who are convinced that ailroad rates have always been tacked in favor of the East.

On the other hand, the men who arried it believed that the Ameri- an railroads are the most efficient ailroads in the world; that, in part, :t least, this is the result of the rail- oads' methods of setting rates. They also have been impressed by he fact that "from 1920 to 1946 he rates charged by railroads actu- :lly decreased nearly 24 per cent ɔer ton mile."

The debate was long and acri- nonious. The railroads have always ıad devoted friends as well as bitter nemies. The condensation of the lebate in the following pages gives clear picture of the viewpoint of ɔoth the proponents and the oppo- ıents of the bill.[1]

[1] Congressional Record, Senate, Vol. 93, No. 109, pp. 6830-6831, 6833, 6835, 6847; No. 110, pp. 6905, 6909, 6919, 6927; No. 112, pp. 7083-7085, 7097; No. 115, pp. 7349-7352.

Mr. Tobey (Republican of New Hampshire). Mr. President, there will shortly come before the Senate, Senate bill 110, to amend the Interstate Commerce Act with respect to certain agreements between carriers, commonly known as the Bulwinkle bill, the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce having reported the bill favorably with two dissenting votes.

I present minority views in opposition to the bill. I wish to read the first three paragraphs of my minority views, and then I shall request that they be printed entire as a part of my remarks:

I dissent from the recommendations of a majority of the committee that the bill (S. 110) be passed.

This would give the railroad, motor carrier, water-carrier, pipe-line, and freight-forwarder industries the opportunity of obtaining complete exemption from the antitrust laws. If enacted into law, the proposed legislation would cut the antitrust laws from the heart of our economy—the transportation industry. Such legislation would be an opening wedge in entirely destroying the antitrust laws, designed to guard and preserve the American system of free enterprise.

The obvious purpose of the bill is to deprive the courts of jurisdiction in pending cases instituted by the Department of Justice and the State of Georgia. The Department of Justice, in a suit at Lincoln, Nebraska, is seeking to enjoin powerful combinations of railroads, railroad associations, and bankers from violating the antitrust laws, fixing arbitrary and discriminatory freight rates, limiting railroad services, suppressing improvements in railroad

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

equipment and facilities, and preventing the development of modes of transportation competitive with the railroads. The State of Georgia's suit is now being tried in the Supreme Court of the United States and seeks to enjoin combinations in the railroad industry from fixing noncompetitive and discriminatory freight rates. These important cases, brought to enforce basic laws enacted by the Congress, could become moot if this bill is enacted. A dangerous precedent would be set, encouraging other powerful groups to seek legislation immunizing them from established laws and the power of the courts to enforce them.

Cartelization of the transportation industry cannot be isolated from the national economy. Transportation costs are a major element in determining the price of goods in other industries. The *power to control the cost of transportation* is a power which may be used to dictate whether other businesses shall enjoy competitive success or be stifled to death. Analysis of the bill shows that it would permit the legalization of private controls over the Nation's economy not only by transportation combinations but, under the broad terms of the bill, by industrial and financial combines working in alliance with combinations in the transportation industry. The legislation sets a pattern for supplanting the American system of competitive enterprise and for the cartelization of the Nation's entire economy.

It should be recognized that the enactment of the bill would result in the worst kind of special legislation for special interests. It would constitute a most dangerous precedent which could henceforth be used to justify the exemption of any or all industries from the safeguards of the antitrust laws. The pursuit of such a program inevitably means the extinction of the free and competitive economy of the United States. It is plain, therefore, that the bill should not be enacted into law.

Mr. Reed (Republican of Kansas). Mr. President, the first thing I want to do is clear away some of the confusion caused by a deliberate campaign of misrepresentation that has been carried on for several years. This has been designated by propagandists in opposition, as a "railroad" bill. It is true that the railroads and other carriers are supporting the bill, but it is also true that the shippers of the United States are universally asking that the bill be enacted into law. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the *Record* at this point a tabulation of 958 farm, labor, commercial, and civic organizations who have asked the Congress to enact into law Senate bill 110.

* * *

Congress has to legislate upon this question. Transportation is essential to move the commerce of the country. I talked with the Interstate Commerce Commission this morning. The man in charge of the rate bureau stated that they have 58,000 tariffs on file, and of that number approximately 21,000, as I remember, are railroad tariffs. I asked him how many rates were contained in those tariffs, and I had my secretary listen on the extension telephone and take down the answer. The answer was that he could not tell me definitely, but that the number of rates would run into astronomical figures. I said, "Will they run into the billions? He said, "I think they would probably exceed billions; they would perhaps go into the trillions."

For 40 years the Department of Justice never raised the question. I have given the history of how it came up in 1941 and 1942. Congress must settle this matter. Transport-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ng the nation's commerce will not e easy, either on the shipping side r on the carrying side, until Congress has laid down a definite policy.

Let me digress for a moment. The reat industries which have developed through our commercial history vere at one time unregulated. They rew into large units, so large that here was combination between them vhich had for its purpose increasing rices, decreasing production, or imiting competition. That was unuestionably injurious to the people. 'hen railroads and public utilities of arious kinds, large quasi-privately wned institutions, came into being. o far as I have known, no one has ver undertaken to apply the antirust law to a public utility. Public tilities have been regulated.

The Interstate Commerce Act was assed in 1887, and through various tages, down to the last extensive mendment which became effective ince I have been a Member of this ody, in 1940, the railroads have beome the closest and most completely egulated industry in the United tates.

Mr. President and Members of the enate, we can go either way we vish to: We can, as we have done, ake the Antitrust Act applicable to he unregulated industries, such as teel, coal, and rubber, which are not egulated, with the exception of afety regulations applying to coal ining; but we cannot apply both ethods, the Antitrust Act and regulation, to the same industry. We annot apply to a regulated industry he antitrust method of preventing ombinations. The two methods will ot mix.

* * *

I want to tell a little story. I see hat my good friend the Senator rom North Carolina [*Mr. Hoey*] is here. He was present at the hearing when this incident occurred. I have said that every experienced traffic man in this country, as well as their principals, are in favor of this bill. It so happened in the hearings last year that there appeared Mr. J. B. Norman, of Louisville, Kentucky. He is one of the foremost and most able rate practitioners and attorneys in the United States. He happened also to be the principal counsel for the Southern Governors in the Southern Governors' rate case. I think the Senator from North Carolina was very active in promoting that rate case when he was Governor of North Carolina, and had a part in hiring Mr. Norman. It has been said that Mr. Norman, as a representative of the Governors, would be against this bill. He is not, he is in favor of this bill.

I shall read from page 98 of the volume of hearings which has been placed upon the desk of each Senator. Mr. Norman said:

> I am very much in favor of the passage of this bill or similar legislation. I have felt for many years that the operation of the railroad bureaus and committees was the cause of many abuses. They were absolutely unregulated and they would have these meetings—which I think are absolutely necessary for them—and in secret session would pass on these proposals made by shippers.

Going over to page 99, I asked Mr. Norman the question which I asked every witness, whether or not, out of his experience, he knew of any other way of taking care of the situation than by the publishing of a tariff of rates and filing it. That is the first essential. A carrier cannot collect, nor can a shipper lawfully pay, a dime for service rendered unless that service is described and the charge published in a published tariff filed with the Interstate

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Commerce Commission or with a State commission. That is absolutely essential before a carrier can perform service and before it can collect for the service rendered. There are 58,000 tariffs which include rates on file with the Interstate Commerce Commission. There is nothing which touches so importantly the commerce of the country and which goes to the actual transportation of it as does the publishing of tariffs.

Mr. White (Republican of Maine). My understanding of the situation is that this measure does not constitute a permission for the railroad companies to enter into binding contracts and binding arrangements, with respect to all these matters, but that under the bill the most the railroads could do initially would be to file with the Interstate Commerce Commission applications for permission to do the things specified, and then the regulatory body would assert itself, and the railroads might do only the things which the regulatory body expressly authorized and approved.

So there is no proper justification for the charge that the bill, if enacted, would result in turning over to the railroads themselves the authority to do all this manner of things. On the contrary, this measure points out the specific things as to which there must be regulatory approval before they can be done; and without such approval, the railroads can do nothing.

Mr. Reed. Under that provision a separation is made between railroads, express companies, and sleeping-car companies, which are classified as carriers of one class; pipeline companies, as another class; carriers by motor vehicle, as another class; carriers by water, as another class; and freight forwarders, as another class. Under that provision carriers of different classes may not make agreements between themselves unless such agreements are limited to the establishment of joint rates and through routes.

Mr. Moore (Republican of Oklahoma). I understand the provision to mean that there will not be permission for carriers of different classes to make agreements between themselves, unless they relate to through rate.

Mr. Reed. That is all.

Mr. Moore. And then there will be permission to grant the right to make a division of the tariff for the entire journey. Am I correct about that?

Mr. Reed. The attempt is to preserve as much competition as possible between, for instance, three carriers of different classes. Obviously a motor carrier and a railroad should not have anything in common, unless they constitute a through route.

Mr. Moore. So if the route is part truck and part water carrier and part railroad, they can agree on a division of the charge; is that correct?

Mr. Reed. That is correct. They would establish through routes.

Mr. Connally (Democrat of Texas). What I had in mind was that a large railroad system has all the advantages over small tap lines, and so forth. Sometimes they do not have any competition; some time the small town has no direct connection with any other railroad system than the main system which operates in that territory. If the railroads are free to fix the portion of the rates which shall be allocable to each carrier, I can see some possibility at least, of injustice.

Mr. Reed. I may say to the Senator from Texas that usually, in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

connection with the division of rates between two or more carriers participating in a division, some consideration is given to the one which originates the traffic and that would be in favor of the short line.

Frequently a good deal of consideration is given in that way.

Let me say that the American Short Line Railroad Association, to which all the small lines belong, is supporting this proposed legislation.

Mr. White. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield to me, I should like to submit an observation to the Senator from Texas: Of course, the railroads can enter into no final agreements with respect to rates. The rates are ultimately fixed by the Commission itself, and they are either lawful or unlawful, as the Commission may determine.

Mr. Reed. No carrier can collect a cent for a service rendered until the tariff has been filed with and has received the approval of the Interstate Commerce Commission or the State commission, as the case may be.

Mr. Connally. I understand that. But I say to the Senator from Maine that if the rate were $2.50 for the combined trip, if the carriers are allowed to make the allocation, the large railroad might receive $2 and the small railroad might receive 50 cents. That is what I had in mind; that there would be no restraint upon them in that case.

Mr. Reed. It has frequently been charged that at times some power has been exercised by certain railroads over the division of the rates. The classic case of that kind is in regard to the railroads operating between Chicago and Omaha or Chicago and the Missouri River, where the railroads operating between those areas always insisted that the Union Pacific demanded and was able to get a larger share of the through rate on transcontinental business, let us say, than it should But the Interstate Commerce Commission has power over the division of rates; and I say again that all that anyone needs to do in order to get a hearing is to go to the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Mr. Bricker (Republican of Ohio). Is it not also true that even under the present Transportation Act, until 1941, when the antitrust section of the Department of Justice took its first action, no one had ever considered that the carriers were not relieved from prosecution under the antitrust law when applying for the rate-bureau action, with the approval of the Interstate Commerce Commission?

Mr. Reed. I have had a fairly wide experience with these matters, and I never heard of any question in the mind of anyone that the rate bureau which had to file its rates after they were agreed upon and published with the Interstate Commerce Commission was violating the antitrust law. That was a new doctrine to me.

Mr. Saltonstall (Republican of Massachusetts). Mr. President, if the Senator from Georgia would be willing to answer a question, does he agree with the statement just made by the Senator from Kansas, that the case of the State of Georgia against the railroads would still stand, on the grounds of conspiracy, even if this bill should become a law?

Mr. Russell (Democrat of Georgia). No; I certainly do not agree with the Senator from Kansas. There is no question that the pending bill, if it be enacted, will take the heart out of the Georgia case.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Of course, the State of Georgia could win the case, as to past transactions, but it would be absolutely denied any protection against future wrongs. Although there has been much injustice heaped upon us in the years that have come and gone, we are not seeking redress with respect to that. We are now looking for opportunities in the future. If the pending bill were enacted into law, it would give us a right without a remedy.

Mr. Saltonstall. If there is a conspiracy among certain States and railroads against a section of the country, including the State of Georgia, will not an action still lie in the courts with respect to that?

Mr. Russell. No, because the pending bill will legalize the conspiracy. It will say to the conspirators, "You may proceed under the protection of a law the Congress has enacted." Mr. President, I have not joined in the debate till now, but the pending bill is not like the original bill which was introduced by former Senator Wheeler. It is an entirely different bill. In my opinion, it is designed to defeat the antitrust suit which is pending at Lincoln, Nebraska, and the case of the State of Georgia against the railroads to obtain justice in freight-rate matters. I shall not pursue the matter further in the time of the Senator from Kansas which he has so graciously granted, but it is a strange coincidence that every time the hot breath of justice is felt on the neck of the railroads this bill is pushed further. The hearings have just been concluded before a special master appointed by the Supreme Court, and he is even now preparing his decision in the case. I do not know what the decision will be. From reading the recent decision by the Supreme Court in the Interstate Commerce case, I am hopeful the decision will be in favor of the State of Georgia and its contention.

Whatever may be the final decision of the Supreme Court, I think it is improper, and I shall so insist in the course of my remarks that the Congress should attempt to deny the Court's jurisdiction, and in fact the Court's prerogatives, on the very eve of a decision, and that if that is done the result will be to deny the State of Georgia the relief in the future that they have sought in the pending action. It will not, of course, prevent the State of Georgia from winning the case based on past wrongs, but it will prevent any remedy in the future to the State of Georgia for any future injustices.

* * *

Senator Tobey. The propaganda for the railroad monopoly bill (S. 110) continues to ease the way of this transgression on American free enterprise. Although the bill would place a monopoly grip on the neck of American small business and American farmers, propaganda has been flooding Congress that everybody in America wants this bill.

* * *

In this jungle of propaganda, I have made an exploration. I have tried to find some one person, out of the 140,000,000 Americans, who is against the monopoly bill. I have found two. Right out in public, where everybody can see them.

* * *

The railroad association did not let the public or the Congress in on the secret, so I will tell it. The authors of the Transportation Act of 1940 and its transportation policy for the United States are two well-known men, named Burton K. Wheeler and Harry S. Truman.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The railroads have shown great skill as creators of organizations. They have built organizations and put them into action as independents, neutrals, unbiased organizations. That is a part of the trickery. The railroad associations have created taxpayers' leagues, educational foundations, transportation associations. These have gone to the public, to city and State authorities, to Congress, peddling the railroads' propaganda. There was always one stipulation, and only one stipulation—keep the railroads in the background. Never reveal the connection of the railroads with these dummy leagues and foundations. That is a part of their game.

* * *

Well, we are told, some genuine taxpayers' associations have registered in favor of the railroad monopoly bill. I suggest that the Senators from California examine the report of Senators Wheeler and Truman, and see how much money the railroads have poured into the taxpayers' association in their State. I suggest that the Senators from New Jersey examine that report on the activities of the New Jersey Taxpayers' Association, which became the sponsor and distributor for railroad propaganda in order to keep the railroads in the background.

* * *

The Association of American Railroads confidentially described those shippers' boards as "a splendid set-up bringing in every important section of the country and every industrial and agricultural interest in each section."

When those boards were induced to enter the political or legislative field, one of their directors promptly resigned. In his resignation, which obviously did not come to the eyes of most of the directors of these shippers' advisory boards, he said that the entrance of the shippers' advisory boards into the field of legislation meant that they would be under the influence of the railroads for this purpose, and that there was no use in kidding themselves to believe anything else.

* * *

Mr. President, the Interstate Commerce Commission was established in 1887. When the Sherman Act was enacted in 1890, it refused to remove the rate-making activities of railroads from antitrust legislation, though the argument was available that the subject should be placed in the hands of this already existent Commission.

When the Clayton Act was passed in 1914, the same was true. Congress again refused to exempt rate-making activities from the antitrust laws.

Within a few years after the enactment of the Sherman Act, the Supreme Court ruled that the railroads were subject to the antitrust statute. Yet almost 50 years have passed and every attempt to remove the railroads from that statute has been rejected. During all those 50 years the I.C.C. was in existence. The argument has repeatedly been made that the subject should be left to the I.C.C., not the courts. Yet Congress during all these years has steadfastly refused to yield monopoly power to the railroads, or their rulers, the New York bankers, either by amendment of the Sherman Act or the Interstate Commerce Act, or the Clayton Act, or by any other legislation.

* * *

The pending bill provides the means for the first time in American history of exempting a basic industry from the prohibition of the antitrust

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

law. It sets a pattern for other big businesses to be immunized from the antitrust laws, and they will certainly follow in its train. This is the great precedent. That being so, then we are on the road to cartels, monopolies and eventually nationalization, certainly, of the railroads.

Senator Moore. Every shipper, large or small, pays the same freight rate; and every shipper knows exactly what his competitor pays for common-carrier transportation services. This fundamental concept of public service must be maintained, and it can only be done by preserving the full rights and powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission. It cannot be done by leaving the way open for the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice to substitute its judgment and authority for that of the Interstate Commerce Commission, which has functioned as a responsible and efficient agency of the Congress for more than half a century in directing and regulating this all-important segment of our national economy.

* * *

It is important for us to bear in mind that the effect of this proposed legislation is not to bring about some violent change in transportation, but merely to make certain that practices and procedures which have been developed by the carriers and the shippers through 50 years of experience are valid, and to place those practices under the regulation and complete supervision of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Mr. Tobey. Does not the Senator appreciate that the Interstate Commerce Commission, under the proposed legislation, would sanction rate conferences or rate conventions, but that the specific rates which came out of them would not be under their control? Does he not also realize that the most important rates are the rates that never see the light of day, because by suasion and other means these things never see the light of day, never get to the Interstate Commerce Commission? That is where the power of the great railroad corporations comes in, and they apply it.

Mr. Taylor (Democrat of Idaho) My colleagues from the West will be particularly interested to know that the Interstate Commerce Commission, which was established in 1887, 60 years ago, has never conducted a general investigation of freight rates in the far West.

The West is known in transportation terminology as mountain-Pacific rate territory. It is made up of the area lying west of a line drawn southward along the western borders of North and South Dakota through Colorado, and then following the western boundary of Texas. Mountain-Pacific territory comprises about 40 per cent of the land area of the United States.

At the present rate of progress the Interstate Commerce Commission on its one-hundredth anniversary will have completed a general investigation of rates in the far West.

It is almost beyond belief that nearly one-half the United States is using a rate structure of the 1880's with only the patches and makeshift changes that the Interstate Commerce Commission has from time to time seen fit to put on the old rate structure.

With the experience of effective action of the nature I have recounted under the western commissioner plan as a background, the Association of American Railroads was formed.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

On September 21, 1934, the plan was approved by a joint meeting of the member lines of the American Railway Association and the Association of Railway Executives.

A steering committee which represented the financial interests stood ready to exert its influence and the influence of its associates among directors and substantial stockholders to compel the subordination of interests of individual railroads to the dictates of group interest.

This assured the cooperation of railroad directors.

President Williamson of the New York Central expected that the activities of the Association would produce some unhappiness, but, as he observed to President Atterbury of the Pennsylvania, all must expect in the common good "to be pinched in places where it will hurt."

The smaller roads were somewhat dubious of the mutual benefits to flow from the pinching.

Mr. President, most of the past success of the Association of American Railroads has consisted of lobbying the I.C.C.

If monopoly control were turned over to the I.C.C., the Association would be able to play all games on its home grounds.

The Interstate Commerce Commission has estimated that at present it passes on no more than approximately 2 per cent of the rates charged by American railroads.

We have seen that it is not presently set up on such a scale as to be able to police the individual rates of all railroads. We have seen that it is probably not desirable that it should be. That being the case, how much less desirable is it to allow a private rate-making bureau, such as the system headed by the Association of American Railroads, to perform that function.

This bill would make it possible for the Association of American Railroads to function as a kind of super government, in that it would have complete control of the economic life of this Nation, through its final powers to fix rates for transportation of commodities to all sections of the country.

The power to fix railroad rates in our economy is the power to make or break business. The West and the South have been continually retarded in industrial development by the discriminatory freight rates which have been imposed upon those sections under the present system.

Mr. Hill (Democrat of Alabama). Human nature is such that monopolies, however well intentioned and however well regulated, inevitably become, in the course of time, oppressive, arbitrary, unprogressive, and inefficient. If we study the history of fascism and nazism, and the history of the ruling houses of Japan, we find confirmation of what Mr. Justice Brandeis said.

It has been suggested that we accept the proposed monopoly of transportation but provide safeguards. This would be like surrendering liberty and substituting despotism with safeguards. There is no way to safeguard the people from the evils of a private transportation monopoly except to prevent the monopoly.

That is the question before us today—whether we, as representatives of the American people, shall prevent this monopoly, or whether we shall become parties to it by giving our approval, our consent, and our ratification to the effort to make the monopoly lawful.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mr. Pepper (Democrat of Florida). The Senator will recall, as some of the others of us do, instances of railroads trying to lobby in State legislatures in an effort to have the legislatures forbid the use of highways to motor vehicles engaged in transportation. They were not trying to save the highways; they were trying to keep the trucks off the highways in order to avoid competition.

Mr. Hill. They were trying to keep down competition. If this bill should pass and Congress should put its approval on this monopoly, this cartelization, the railroads would be able to suppress competition; indeed, the whole purpose of the bill is to eliminate and wipe out competition not only with bus lines and truck lines but with airplane carriers and all other means or vehicles of transportation.

Mr. Stewart (Democrat of Tennessee). I have been given to understand that it has long since become a custom—whether justified by law, frankly I do not know, because there have been opinions both ways—for a railroad, when it desires to make a tariff or rate between Butte, Montana, for example, and Montgomery, Alabama, on shoes, overalls, shirts, women's dresses, or some manufactured product made in either one of the cities, to file the rate with the Interstate Commerce Commission, and if no one objects to it in a certain period of time, perhaps 30 days, it then becomes a fixed rate, and that must be paid by shippers.

Who could know when the rate was applied for? Perhaps it would be tacked on a little board in a remote room in one of the larger Government buildings in the city of Washington, in close proximity to where the Interstate Commerce Commission held its meetings. So the notice would be so meager as not to be sufficient to those who might be affected.

To digress for a moment, to show what an absurd thing has happened as a result of the creation of the Interstate Commerce Commission, I remember reading a few years ago a portion of the debate on the floor of the Senate when the Interstate Commerce Commission was being created. Senator Cullom, of Illinois, in his zeal and enthusiasm for the establishment of the Interstate Commerce Commission and the passage of the act creating it, said.

This will become the poor man's court. The shipper will be protected if this Commission is created.

Many times I have thought what a distance we have come since Senator Cullom, of Illinois, expressed what was undoubtedly his honest opinion. He believed that it would become a poor man's court for the protection of small shippers and others. We have reached the point where the railroads have practically dominated the Commission. As I understand, the Commission is helpless to change a rate unless someone objects to it. Who knows about it?

Mr. Johnson (Democrat of South Carolina).

(a) The major oil companies do not ship gasoline from Texas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Arkansas into the Old South over the railroads.

(b) Instead, the major oil companies use their own ships and boats to move Texas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Arkansas gasoline from the mouth of the Mississippi River through the Gulf of Mexico on up the east Atlantic coast to ports and unloading places on the Atlantic coast of the Old South. They also

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

move Texas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Arkansas gasoline northward up the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers, dropping it off at facilities which the major oil companies maintain along those rivers.

(c) The Old South then gets its gasoline by trucks operated and owned by the majors from these places were the majors have unloaded it from the boats onto the banks of the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers and onto the shores of the Atlantic coast of the Old South.

(d) Obviously, this gives the majors a monopoly on the sale of gasoline in the Old South, undisturbed by sales in the Old South by small independent gasoline producers in Texas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Arkansas unless those independents can get low rail rates from Texas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Arkansas.

(e) The A.A.R. and the majors have been busy ousting the independents from markets in the old South. How did they keep busy on this job?

First. The A.A.R. and the majors have been together on a scheme to make the gasoline rates from Texas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Arkansas into the old South sky high.

Second. What was the benefit to the A.A.R. from this scheme? Very simple. The majors were to ship gasoline solely by rail, and not by truck, from the storage tanks on the Atlantic seacoast into the interior of the old South and were to ship gasoline from storage places on the banks of the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers into the interior of the old South by rail and not by truck.

Third. What benefit were the majors to get out of a gasoline rate wall between the old South and the Southwest? Very plain and simple.

(a) The wall kept the little gasoline men in Texas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Arkansas, who did not own boats, out of the old South; and

(b) It boosted the sale price of gasoline in the old South because the majors sell gasoline, which comes to the old South by boat, in the old South at so much per gallon plus the rail rate from certain points in the Southwest, such as El Dorado, Arkansas.

I do not want these activities taken out from under the antitrust laws.

* * *

We can not see why a railroad which runs in both the North and the South should have rates different when it hits the South. I once asked why it was they charged more to ship back to the North some manufactured goods made in the North, when we did not like them, than it cost to ship the goods down to us. That question has not yet been answered. It involves the same goods on the same road, and it costs more to ship them back than to ship them to the South. I should like to have someone analyze that situation.

Mr. Sparkman (Democrat from Alabama). Here is a startling example of the railroads' action. For many years the railroads have published export rates lower than domestic rates on similar traffic to the ports. The export rate on iron and steel articles from Chicago to west coast ports was 44 cents per hundred pounds, as compared with a domestic rate of $1.10 for the same movement.

Mr. Hawkes (Republican of New Jersey). The pending bill, to my mind, carries none of the serious implications which have been attributed to it by those who oppose it.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Some of my finest friends in the Senate are opposed to it because they feel their sections of the country have been discriminated against in rates over the past 50 years. Perhaps they have been. I am not here to speak on that subject. If they have been, such discrimination should be cured, and equity and justice should be evenly spread throughout the United States in the transportation system as well as in every other segment of our American life.

To me this bill simply says that certain joint-rate bureaus and conferences are vital to the establishment of rates of transportation, schedules, and the other things cited in section 2 of the bill.

The fact is that these procedures have been in effect for 50 years, and only in the past few years has the Department of Justice seen fit to question these acts as being in violation of the antitrust laws of the Nation.

I am as much opposed to monopoly and the inequities of coercion, threat, and intimidation, which deprive Americans of the right of free action as is any other Member of the Senate.

Nothing in this bill gives any railroad or any group of railroads the right to indulge in intimidation, coercion, reprisals, or conspiracy, so far as I can see, in connection with the conferences which are vital and necessary if the railroads are to arrive at rates, schedules, and the other things covered in the bill.

As I understand this bill, if any railroad or group of railroads or transportation companies indulge in practices not approved by the Interstate Commerce Commission, as defined in the bill, such railroads will not in any way be exempted from the antitrust laws of the United States. Even the Department of Justice or any transportation company or any citizen has a right to request review of any approval given by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

* * *

Let us assume that the Department of Justice wins the suit that it has brought against the railroads in the United States district court at Lincoln, Nebraska. Then the railroads will change their form of organization, just as they did after the two earlier decisions, but it will still be possible for some later Attorney General to make a new attack upon the rate conferences and committees —an attack based either upon changed conditions or upon some new theory as to the meaning and application of the antitrust laws.

When that happens we shall be in the same position as we are today. The time has come to end the uncertainty and confusion about the legality and the operation of rate conferences and committees. How much harassment can the railroads and transportation companies stand and yet function efficiently? The railroads face many serious problems in the future.

Mr. Reed. Mr. President, the Senate Chamber has resounded with a continuous declaration that the bill under consideration would complete the monopoly of railroads over the traffic of the United States. It was repeated that the bill would remove all competition and enable railroad carriers to impose any sort of rates upon the commerce of the country that they desired.

* * *

From 1921 to 1946 railroad rates actually decreased nearly 24 per cent per ton-mile.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The average ton-mile earnings of the railroads on all traffic was 1.275 cents in 1921; in 1946 the figure was 0.978 cent. In other words, the railroad revenue per ton-mile decreased 23.3 per cent. How many other services or commodities can any Senator name the prices of which in 1946 were 76.7 per cent of the charge 25 years ago?

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted, as part of my remarks, a table showing the average revenue per ton-mile by years, through all years from 1921 to 1946, inclusive, also the average revenue per passenger-mile through this same period, the average hourly pay of employees, and a comparison of the unit price of railroad materials and supplies by years, from 1921 through 1946, inclusive.

Mr. Moore. I want to emphasize again the certainty that if this legislation is not enacted, the Justice Department will, in fact, actually take over the physical operation of the railroads. Many important key industries are already being operated by the young theorists of the Justice Department under consent decrees which have been obtained by the most flagrant coercion and because the managers of business were afraid of the kind of justice that might be meted out by the judicial philosophy that presently obtains in most of our courts, if they dared defend against the Department's charges. The consent decrees under which all interstate transportation of crude oil is carried on is a good example of how this system works. Every detail of operations of this important industry is subject to control and direction of the Department. At intervals of twice each year the management of every interstate oil pipe line in the United States must appear before the Antitrust Division of the Department and lay before it every item of operation in the most minute detail, and, if not in complete accord with the ideas of the "economist-lawyers" of the Department, the pipe lines are required to revamp and adjust their operations in line with the departmental theories. These operations are carried on under continual expressed threats of contempt proceedings. As many Members of the Senate know, this same fate has befallen other large segments of our national industrial economy, such as the meat packing industry and many others. The action now pending at Lincoln, Nebraska, against the western railroads, is for the sole purpose of eventually bringing those roads under a consent decree by which the Department of Justice may take from the Congress the constitutional authority to regulate their operations.

Mr. President, I urge upon the Senate the propriety of this amendment to the Interstate Commerce Act as a constitutional obligation of the Congress to regulate commerce. I trust we shall assume that obligation.

Two Quakers were overheard: "William, thee knows that I do not believe in calling anyone names; but, William, if the mayor of the town should come to me and say to me: 'Joshua, I want thee to bring to me the greatest liar in this city,' I would come to thee, William, and I would lay my hand on thy shoulder and I would say to thee: 'William, the mayor wants to see thee.'"

—*The Friend*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FORUM: SHOULD CONGRES

YES!

By Carol L. Thompson

THE so-called "Stratton Bill," H.R. 2910, provides for the admission into the United States of 100,000 displaced persons from Europe in each of four emergency years. The basic immigration laws of the United States will not be affected by the terms of Mr. Stratton's proposal. Mental, physical, economic and moral qualifications will apply to each of the 400,000 displaced persons. Criminals, prostitutes, illiterates, paupers, those likely to become public charges, anarchists, Communists—all who are barred by the basic immigration laws will be barred by the provisions of the Stratton Act. Permanent quotas will remain in effect. Temporarily, however, a limited number of displaced persons unable to enter under the discriminatory quota system will be able to gain admission to the country. Under the bill, preference will be given to widows, parents, children and other relatives within the fourth degree of consanguinity of citizens of the United States or those who served in our armed forces in either World War. If passed, the Stratton Bill will allow, for a limited four-year period, a small annual addition to our population—less than one-tenth of one per cent in each year.

Few Americans are entirely ignorant of conditions in Europe that compel reconsideration of our immigration policies; few are really familiar with the basic problem of the Displaced Person, or with the Immigration Laws of the United States. Of the millions of homeless Europeans wandering on the face of that continent at the end of the war, about 850,000 remain, classified by U.N.R.R.A. as "non-repatriables." About 21 per cent of them are children under 18 years of age, many of them orphaned and with no idea of their "country of origin." The "non-repatriables" are unwilling to return to their homes: the Jews, because they fear renewed anti-Semitism; others, because they are anti-Communist and are afraid of Russia and her satellite governments. Christians (Roman Catholics, Greek Catholics and Protestants) comprise 80 per cent of the total; about 20 per cent are Jews. Poles, Latvians, Lithuanians, Yugoslavs, Estonians and Ukrainians are prominent among the D.P.'s. More than 50 per cent of the total number are women and children.

The government of the United States has led in taking the position that these people must not be forced to return to the countries of their origin, although every effort has been made to persuade them to do so. The U.S.S.R., on the other hand, takes the position that all D.P.'s should be forced to return to their former homes, and has refused to further any effort to find new homes for these people. With Russia unwilling to help,

(Continued on page 106)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PASS THE STRATTON BILL?

NO!

By Alice B. McGinty

BOTH opponents and proponents of the Stratton Bill have one great thing in common—their devotion to the quota system set up by the Immigration Act of 1924. The C.I.O., the A.F. of L., Earl Harrison, Chairman of the Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, and former Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, and even Congressman William G. Stratton, sponsor of the bill, are not outdone in their loyalty to our immigration policy by the D.A.R. or the American Legion. The fact that the Stratton Bill would leave the policy essentially unchanged is the main buttress of the argument of those favoring the bill. Yet, the very existence of the bill itself is testimony to the utter irrelevancy of our present immigration laws.

BREAKDOWN OF QUOTA SYSTEM

It was the breakdown of the quota system that brought about the Stratton Bill. President Truman issued a directive on December 22, 1945, ordering all legal immigration quotas from countries of northern Europe to be filled. Yet, between March 1, 1946, and March 1, 1947, only 18,000 immigration visas were issued. (A quota of 26,000 was included for Germany even though it was impossible for Germans to emigrate.) Red tape inherent in the immigration laws and lack of trained personnel in the State Department has thus prevented the United States from implementing that lofty stand she has taken on refugees and displaced persons both in United Nations debates and on the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry. We have championed the "non-repatriables" at the bar of world opinion. It is, therefore, up to us to revise our present immigration laws to carry out this responsibility. Indeed, it is to our own best interest that we recast our whole thinking on immigration in the light of our present population trends.

STRATTON BILL INADEQUATE

The list of worthy organizations and individuals supporting the Stratton Bill is indeed impressive. We can only conclude that the intensity of their desire to help the D.P.'s has led them to be content with half a loaf. We reject this philosophy, politically expedient though it may be, because it is based on the premise that the D.P. problem is limited, (U.N.R.R.A. estimates that there are 850,000), and can be cleared up in four years. We, therefore, oppose the Stratton Bill because it is not adequate to the task and because it makes no basic revision in our immigration policy.

(Continued on page 110)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(Continued from page 104)

and the United States so far unable to offer haven to the displaced, most of them are at present maintained in internment camps, at an estimated $70,000,000-a-year cost to the American taxpayer, whose sons still guard the camps on foreign soil.

ELIGIBILITY UNDER QUOTA SYSTEM

Only a very limited number of these people are eligible for admission to the United States under the present quota system. Although President Truman urged the admission of as many displaced persons as possible under the quotas, between May, 1946, and January, 1947, only about 5,000 entered the country. Under present immigration laws, only 3,900 visas can be issued for entry into the United States each month for persons who are natives of Central and Eastern Europe and the Balkans, 2,600 of which are allotted to Germany. Since few of the D.P.'s claim Germany as a country of origin, and since only Germans who were persecuted by the Nazis can be admitted to the United States, the law in effect limits immigration of D.P.'s to not much over 1,300 a month, or about 15,600 per year. Almost 25 years would elapse before 400,000 displaced persons gained admission—25 years of hopeless deterioration for them and taxpaying for the United States. Too few Americans realize that far from being a land of unlimited opportunity for the oppressed, the United States has almost closed its doors to immigration. The basic immigration laws of this country are not well understood by most of those who dread the flood of "foreigners" pounding at our gates.

IMMIGRATION LAWS

Prior to 1882, immigration into the United States was largely unregulated. America was the land of opportunity and immigrants were a welcome addition to a small labor force. In 1790, the United States had only four million inhabitants. Between 1790 and 1820, it has been estimated that 250,000 immigrants came to the United States; between 1821 (when official records were started) and 1830 arrivals totalled 143,439. The Irish famine early in the 1830's brought a rush of immigrants; political unrest in Germany increased the flow in the 1840's. In the period 1831-1840, immigration climbed to 599,125; in 1841-50, 1,713,251 and in 1851-60, 2,598,214. Although anti-alien sentiment was growing and although depression decreased the flow of immigration sharply, 788,992 entered in 1882—a record yearly total.

In 1882 the first general federal immigration law was passed, barring lunatics, idiots and "those likely to become a public charge." The first Chinese Exclusion Act of that year barred Chinese laborers. The so-called "new" immigration from eastern and southern Europe began, occasioning still more protest from "native" Americans and the older immigrants of northern and western Europe

Nonetheless, before 1920, immigration laws sought only to define the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

uality" of immigrants, rather than the quantity. The excluded classes re extended to cover contract laborers, additional criminals, those suffer- ; from loathesome or dangerous, contagious diseases, polygamists and archists.

On the eve of the First World War, immigration reached unprece- nted levels: immigration totals were averaging about 1,000,000 per year. pproximately 80 per cent of these immigrants came from southern and stern Europe, primarily from Italy, Austria-Hungary and Russia—a fact at was publicized by the "old" immigrants from northern and western urope. The Immigration Commission appointed by Congress in 1907 re- orted (1911) that "new" immigrants did not assimilate as easily as "old," t denied that they were inferior. The Commission advocated restrictive easures including a "literacy" test, designed to limit immigration from stern and southern Europe. In spite of opposition from President Wilson, vho twice vetoed such legislation), the Immigration Act of 1917, passed er his veto, incorporated literacy requirements, provided further qualita- e restrictions and set up the "barred zone" excluding all Indians and other tives of a specific geographical area of Asia.

The first wave of immigration after World War I (805,228 in 1921) creased restrictionist sentiment. In May, 1921, Congress passed the Quota ct, setting up quotas totalling 357,803, predicated upon three per cent of ch nationality residing in the United States in 1910. Approximately 0,000 out of the total were allotted to northern and western Europe (be- use immigrants from those areas predominated in 1910) and 155,000 to uthern and eastern Europe.

JOHNSON ACT

The basic immigration act still in effect is the Immigration Act of 24 which established permanent quotas. After a period of study during hich temporary quotas were set up, permanent quotas were assigned 1927. The total annual immigration was set up at 153,714. Eager discriminate in favor of the "older" immigrants, Congress returned the census of 1890 as the basis of the system. Up to 1929 immigration otas were based on two per cent of the number of foreign born of each tionality living in the United States in 1890; thereafter quotas were cal- lated on the basis of a total of 150,000 per year, with proportions based the number of foreign born here in 1890. More than 80 per cent of quota locations were assigned to natives of northern and western Europe. Today, nual quotas total 153,9229, after the addition of 105 for the Chinese on peal of the Chinese Exclusion Act (1943) and 100 for the Philippines. ives and minor children of American citizens are exempted. Western emisphere natives are admitted without restriction; each nation outside e Western Hemisphere (except in the barred zone) has a minimum quota 100. More than two-thirds of the quota allotments are assigned to Great ritain and Northern Ireland (65,721), Germany (25,957), and Eire (17,- 3).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Certain immigrants are given preference; half the quota for any country is allotted to parents of American citizens, to husbands of citizens by marriage after July 1, 1932, or to farmers and farm families. Wives and children of immigrants already in this country get next preference.

A complicated visa system run by United States consuls abroad further controls the admission of aliens, who have to produce documents, testimonials and witnesses proving that they meet the stringent requirements for entry. In times of depression, furthermore, the consuls have been directed in the past, (1930), to interpret the law very broadly, i.e., the restriction against those "likely to become a public charge" barred most aliens who might not have found work in the United States in the 1930's.

It may come as a surprise to those who fear the tide of foreign immigration that the total flow of immigrants to this country since 1924, including those from non-quota countries of this hemisphere, has averaged only about 130,000 annually, instead of 150,000. The percentage of foreign born in our population was 13.2 in 1920, 11.6 in 1930 and only 8.8 in 1940. According to the figures of the 1940 census, aliens made up only 3.3 per cent of the population, hardly an alarming figure.

DEPRESSION

It should also be noted that during depression years, when it is hard to find employment and immigrants may provide competition for jobs, immigration declines and emigration rises. In the four hardest years of the depression, 1932-1935, there was a net loss in immigration and during the entire period of the depression only about 20 per cent of the total quota was used. It is readily apparent that immigrants are sensitive to economic conditions in this country; regardless of restrictions, there are few aliens desiring entry when employment is hard to find. And, incidentally, during boom periods, immigration rises, with aliens adding to the productive working force of the economy.

A convincing argument can also be made proving that increased immigration adds to the wealth of the country, since the periods of greatest immigration have been the periods of greatest prosperity. It seems hardly necessary to labor this point in a forum on the admission of only 400,000 persons over a four year period, of whom roughly 50 per cent are women and children and, therefore, not competitors for jobs.

Were it not for the quota system, furthermore, most of these displaced could gain entry into the country. It was noted above that more than two thirds of the quota allotments are assigned to Great Britain, Northern Ireland, Eire and Germany. It is almost impossible for Germans to enter the United States today; emigration from Great Britain and Eire is very limited. Quotas assigned to the Baltic and Balkan states and Poland are insufficient for the D.P.'s who were unfortunately born in those countries.

Nor can the quotas unused during the war be utilized today. Unused quotas according to law expire at the end of each year and are not cumulative. During the war period (1940-1946) only 15 per cent of the total world

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ota was used: 914,762 persons who could have entered under the quotas
: lost to this country forever. In the light of these facts, the proposed
mission in the next four years of 400,000 seems minor indeed.

OPPOSITION

Why is there opposition to the Stratton Bill? Opposition comes first
m the "America Firsters," both America's First Families and the "older
migrants." Soaked in the racial theories of Lothrop Stoddard and Mad-
n Grant, these self-termed "aristocrats" believe implicity in the superior-
of the Aryan (Anglo-Saxon) race and bend their efforts to keeping
nerica for "Americans." A larger fringe of listeners are propagandized
ainst "foreigners" and "dangerous aliens." Although most of the D.P.'s
ve lost their homes because they are anti-Communist, the charge is made
:t all foreigners are Communists and, therefore, undesirable. Although
ly 20 per cent of the D.P.'s are Jews, we are told that all the D.P.'s are
'ugee Jews.

Other opposition to the Stratton Bill comes from those who misunder-
nd it and do not realize that the immigration laws are upheld, that all
alitative restrictions remain and that aside from the 400,000 mentioned
the bill quotas are to be retained.

Veterans organizations are divided in their attitudes toward the bill,
t the powerful American Legion offers vocal opposition. The Legion
heres to the fallacious "lump of labor" argument, believing that there are
ly a certain number of jobs in this country and that every immigrant is
: competitor of a veteran for one of these fixed jobs. We have already
ted that 50 per cent of the D.P.'s are women and children, most of whom
ll not look for work at all. Farm hands, badly needed in this country,
:ke up 77,000 of the total and some 20,000 are domestic servants. A large
oportion are professional men and women: doctors, nurses, writers. Some
ll undoubtedly start new businesses, giving work to Americans, and others
ll bring in new skills and new trades. In as small a proportion as this, it
hard to see how the D.P.'s will take jobs from veterans; they will create
w opportunities for Americans and their wives and children will add to
: demand for consumers goods, creating still more jobs for Americans.
is not true that there are only a certain number of jobs in this country;
nerica is still a land of expanding opportunity, which can welcome new
nericans who will add to the productive labor force. In proof of this we
d that both the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O., traditional opponents of un-
ited immigration, favor the Stratton Bill.

Housing difficulties are also mentioned by the American Legion. It
not always understood that the 400,000 immigrants in question, like all
ier aliens admitted to the country, must have capital or sponsorship by
nericans willing to assume the responsibility for resettling them. Many
ilanthropic organizations are anxious to assume such responsibility and
find housing for these people among relatives, friends and those sympa-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

thetic to their cause. Many D.P.'s will find housing among relatives a friends who would not open their homes to strangers. In addition, it sho be pointed out that actual immigration will be delayed some time af passage of the bill; within a year it is expected that housing shortages w ease in any case.

TRADITION OF ASYLUM

Opposition to the Stratton Bill does not stand close scrutiny; most those who oppose it are hiding their un-American prejudices behind smoke-screen of pseudo-economic arguments and claims of veteran rep sentation. The bill deserves support for humanitarian, economic, dip matic and military reasons. America is a country of immigrants and traditional haven for the oppressed. All who believe in the sanctity of individual must work to bring hope to the homeless, hopeless people Europe who deserve the opportunity to become individuals once ag

A glance at the list of organizations supporting the Stratton Bill veals that Americans of many religions and occupations want to impr the lot of their fellow humans in Europe. Among these groups are Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, the National Ca olic Welfare Conference, major national Jewish organizations, the Cath War Veterans, the United Council of Veterans Organizations, the A.F. L and the C.I.O. No prejudice-ridden pressure group should be allo to impose its will on the American people. The Stratton Bill should passed by an imposing Congressional majority.

(Continued from page 105)

The number of displaced persons is conveniently limited to 850,000 o because we so choose to limit it. The United States Army European Co mand has shut the American zone in Germany to any more displaced perso The Polish border has also been closed and guards have, reportedly, b ordered to shoot. Only a dozen Jews a week may now cross legally. Polar quota is 6,524 a year. Quotas for the "preferred" immigrants (relatives United States citizens and skilled farm labor), signed up for eight years advance, have been held up by lack of ships, Polish passports and Uni States visas. Almost all the hundred thousand Jews in Poland and hundred thousand Polish D.P.'s in our camps in Germany could fill Polish immigration quota for 60 years!

U.N.R.R.A. Director Rooks reported recently that of the 7,000, persons repatriated since the end of the war, not one incident of persecut had come to his attention. Under "Operation Carrot," U.N.R.R.A. brou moral and psychological pressure to bear upon those displaced persons willing to return to the Soviet Union. Mr. Paul Edwards, U.N.R.R director for the American zone of Germany, was quoted in the May 15, 1 issue of *Stars and Stripes*: "We agree with the Russians. We support t

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

claims. These anti-repatriation groups are not the product of democratic processes but are rather the remnants of pre-war regimes that reflect nazi and fascist concepts." Although J. H. Whiting, the man responsible for "Operation Carrot," was replaced, the effects of the policy are still felt by refugees. As more Communist *coups* take place in Europe, the number of refugees may be expected to increase. Merely closing borders or closing our eyes to forced repatriation does not eliminate our responsibility to "fundamental human rights . . . the dignity and worth of the human person . . . equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small" to which the Charter of the United Nations pledges us.

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

The bias of our present immigration policy is frankly racial. It is no longer fashionable to believe in the myth of "superior" and "inferior" races. The Chinese Exclusion Laws were repealed on December 17, 1943, and the racial barriers against Indians and Filipinos were lifted on July 2, 1946. Each of these peoples was assigned a "quota," (the Chinese, 105; the Indians and Filipinos, 100), and became eligible for naturalization. Nevertheless, the sacred quota system to which Mr. Stratton is devoted is based on the myth of Nordic superiority. Senator Albert Johnson, author of the Immigration Act of 1924, set the keynote of the act: "our capacity to maintain our cherished institutions stands diluted by a stream of alien blood, with all its inherited misconceptions respecting the relationship of the governing power to the governed." Quotas were established at two per cent measured by the nationalities of foreign-born persons in the United States in 1890. The census year of 1890 was deliberately chosen because there had then been a higher percentage of the "old immigration"—people from northern and Western Europe. The English, Dutch, Swedes, Germans and Scotch-Irish were thought to have frisked about in the forests surrounding the North Sea only 2,000 years before. This made them similar in "blood," political, social and economic ideals. While northern Europeans were not actually, perhaps, "superior" to Southern Europeans, they were supposedly "more easily assimilable." That the same style argument was used against the "old immigrants" earlier in the nineteenth century was conveniently forgotten.

Consequently, more than two-thirds of the quota allotments were assigned to three northern European countries—Great Britain and Northern Ireland, 65,721; Germany, 25,957; Eire, 17,853. These countries, however, have used, on the average, only 17 per cent of their quotas. Since 1931, the British have used only five per cent of their quota and the Irish only three per cent. Southern and eastern Europe, however, have used 43 per cent of the annual quotas since 1930. The actual numbers that can enter is further restricted by the provision that the quotas are non-cumulative and only 10 per cent of the annual quota can be used up in any one month of the year. Thus the quota system discriminates against the peoples of southern and eastern Europe for a thoroughly discreditable reason—race.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The other premises upon which our quota system was erected are equally questionable: (1) the population of the United States will grow indefinitely; (2) immigrants lower the standard of living of American labor by accepting "Coolie" wages.

POPULATION

The factor of population growth seems to have been entirely ignored by the framers and the upholders of our restrictive immigration policy. Our birthrate, as everyone knows, is dangerously low despite the temporary increase of the war years. Between 1920-30, the rate of increase was 16.1 per cent; between 1930-40, it was 7.2 per cent! Our population is expected to increase by 25 per cent in the next 50 years. It increased 100 per cent in the 50 years preceding 1940. The cessation of immigration by cutting off the number of young adults hastened the decreasing rate of population growth. By 1970, population experts estimate that births will balance deaths.

When our population becomes static, it will be impossible for us to maintain our dominant economic and political position as we will be "outpeopled" by Soviet Russia, Japan and Germany. By 1970, Russia will have an estimated population of 250,000,000 and will still be increasing rapidly. The United States with 160,000,000 will have a static population. Japan, still increasing, will have 87,000,000; Germany will have 69,000,000 and will be increasing but at a diminishing rate. We will have to join the declining powers, England and France, whose populations by 1970 will be approximately 37,000,000.

An aging population presents serious social problems. In 1930, there were 21,000,000 children in elementary schools in the United States. Eight years later, the number has dropped by a million. Between 1930-40, the number of persons 65 years old and over increased by 35 per cent while the total population increased only 7.2 per cent. By the year 2000, over 13 per cent of the population will be made up of persons over 65 years of age, almost twice the present amount. Children under 15 years of age will be only 19 per cent of the population. The median age may increase from slightly under 30 to 37. A greater share of the nation's wealth will have to be devoted to the care of the aged. Social and economic mobility for individuals and classes will decrease. Myrdal has pointed out the ultimate economic effects of a regressive, aging population: a decline of investment in production; poorer position for labor; a decline of agriculture; a decline in demand for capital goods; increased risk of investment; lower standard of living; free enterprise giving way to social planning.

As an increase in the birthrate in the foreseeable future seems highly doubtful, there is but one source to which we can turn—increased immigration. Between 1820-1924, three-fifths of the 60 million people who left Europe came to the United States. This heavy, unrestricted stream of immigration enabled the United States to maintain a high level of population increase in spite of the rapid industrialization and urbanization which the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

country underwent. Since 1930, however, immigration has not made a net addition to our population.

OPTIMUM POPULATION

Carr-Saunders defines the optimum population as: "the number which, taking into consideration the nature of the environment, the degree of skill employed, the habits and customs of the people concerned, and all other relevant facts, gives the highest average return per head. The optimum is not fixed once and for all. On the contrary, it is constantly varying as to the conditions referred to vary and, as skill has tended to increase throughout history, so has the number economically desirable tended to increase." Our productive capacity and our standard of living have risen rather than fallen with our increase in population.

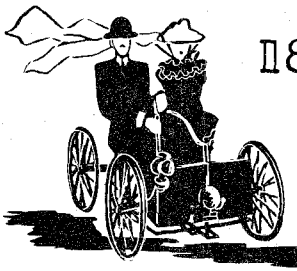
Although the population growth of the United States has been unparalleled in history, there is still room for further expansion. Indeed if the vast natural resources of the Missouri Valley and the industrial potential of other regions of the West are to be utilized, 50,000,000 people will be needed in the next 50 years in that region alone.

In 1939, the United States had only 259 persons per square mile of arable land. Sweden had 442; France, 524; British India, 780; Italy, 883; Java and Medusa, 1,394; New Zealand, 557; Belgium, 2,126; Great Britain, 2,421; Japan, 3,131. Some population experts estimate that the United States has an additional immigrant capacity of 178-228 million.

Although the American Federation of Labor agitated for immigration restriction in the early part of the twentieth century, it has given its endorsement of the Stratton Bill. This endorsement, however, was undoubtedly purchased by the Stratton Bill's pledge to uphold the present quota system. The labor unions undoubtedly would not favor greatly increased numbers of immigrants. While no one denies the fact that immigrants were exploited as strike breakers in the early days of the twentieth century and did work more cheaply than American laborers, the possibility of a recurrence of these abuses is extremely remote. Workers are now protected by the Wagner Act in their right to collective bargaining. Wages, hours and working conditions are negotiated by contracts which immigration cannot effect.

The only hope of an exhausted, despairing Europe is the United States. From every point of view—economic, social, political, humanitarian—the time has come for us to abandon the national origins quota system and all its discriminatory appendages. The Stratton Bill would only perpetuate the existing absurdities and evils of the system and, while offering infinitesimal temporary relief, would do nothing toward solving our long range population problems. The United States needs many more people. They are readily available. Opening the "golden door" to a large number of immigrants is perhaps the greatest contribution we could make to world peace and to our own future prosperity.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



1897 - 1947 50 YEARS OF FORUM

Foreign affairs, domestic issues battled for the readers' attention in Forum, 1897.

> "Let us hope the rivalry between the three great World Powers—the United States, Great Britain, and Russia—will always be a peaceful striving for the highest development, prosperity, and happiness of their respective peoples. In this contest for supremacy, our great rival, England, had the advantage of advancing beyond ourselves in the science of administration while this country was engaging its energies in the subduing of a continent."

"Russia must reach the open sea. By masterful diplomacy, after the close of the war between China and Japan, she makes a treaty with the former; acquiring the right to construct branches from her great military railway through Manchuria to harbors in China on the Yellow Sea. . .

"Russia has not reached the limit of her expansion. She has neither Parliament nor Congress to question the policy of her aggressive, autocratic government."

> "The condition of the miners' organization in 1893 was such that the men were unable to insist upon a fair consideration of their interests. The old abuses of the 'Company Stores,' where the workmen were compelled to deal, were reintroduced and extended; thus compelling them to pay, in most instances, an excess of 25 to 50 per cent for every necessity of life. The hovels in which they dwelt, the well from which they drank, the church at whose altar they knelt, were all owned or controlled by the companies: the workers were truly their bondmen and their slaves."

"The general course of the business of the country is governed by two constant laws: First, as time goes on, the margin of profit diminishes. Second, in order that business may still be transacted without loss, its methods conform themselves to this diminution. But as it is impossible to foresee the character of the future exigency, so it is impossible to lay down rules as to the manner in which the necessary changes in business method shall be made. . . ."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Early Morning Moon

Pallid timepiece out of time,
  Victim of an ill-matched race
Caught in an unavailing climb,
  We read the future in your face.

With finer thread than spiders spin,
  Drag the ocean in a fold;
Soon the hunter closing in
  Drowns your silver in his gold.

Sing a plaintive minor strain;
  While you may, be faintly heard,
Before the lion shakes his mane
  And roars the fatal word.

—*SAMUEL YELLEN*

Mind and Mountain

Mohammad was wise, but having gone to the mountain
He should have made the mountain come to him.

Mountains are for the young to climb
And for the old to conjure up.

The eyes can measure what the feet once measured,
And what the eyes have measured the mind can build
For itself, the eyes closed, the feet still.

The mind can make a mountain any height it will,
Matterhorn as readily as Monadnock,
Everest as readily as Matterhorn.

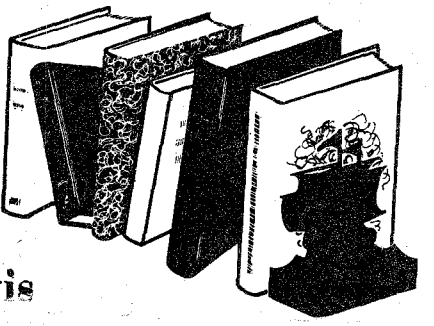
The mind can plume the summit with a cloud,
Or keep the summit clear, eternally clear
Of cloud, whichever the mind chooses.

The mind can start a cool wind on a parching day,
Down the white glaciers, down the dark canyons,
Down the wild rivers to the level lands.

—*ROBERT FRANCIS*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS
In Brief



By Jasper R. Lewis

STUDYING THE GERMAN PEOPLE

W. L White undertakes a tough assignment in *Report on the Germans*, (Harcourt, Brace, $3.00); tough because much of the material is so similar to all we have read in the past several years that interest flags. The facts are there, and White tells them well, but unfortunately apathy has already overcome sympathy and even antipathy. Based on his long service as a correspondent during the war, his comments on the German population, as distinct from the Nazi leaders, seem intended to show that Germans are people, after all.

Here first are the author's appraisals of the Hitler Reich at its strongest, when the Germans were becoming conditioned to ruthlessness. There are pages of the purges of the Jews; the only difference is that White endeavors to show the people's early repugnance for the program, slowly changing to approval as victories grew. Later the swing was reversed. Then there is the German opinion that Americans do not understand the European situation. To many, fighting for Hitler or approval of Nazi policies was compulsory; now it should be forgotten. In fact, the population is inclined to believe that we should follow an "all is forgiven" policy. Many profess not to remember their own past.

The second part of White's book compares the present situation in Germany with that in 1919, reviewing Wilson's attempts at a world league, and comparing it with the efforts of the Truman administration. Also important is the glance at Russia's situation in 1918, and at the Stalin regime today. The mistakes made by the democratic powers on the political front are enumerated, and are, of course, open to debate. Less so is White's conclusion that if we encourage a free and democratic Germany to rise, 10 years from now the Germans will remember Hitler as a madman. If we keep them in poverty and idleness, the recollection of the Hitler era will be their only solace, making a lost prophet out of the dead Führer, rather than a criminal.

* * *

In line with the problem of mak-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing over the German nation, here is a study of the job as seen by a member of the United States staff assigned to the task. *American Military Government in Germany,* by Harold Zink, (Macmillan, $4.00), is a detailed outline of the plan, complete with diagrams and statistics. The preparations, planning and policy of the A.M.G. are explained, but for the purpose of understanding the Germans there are many descriptions of conditions. The unsuccessful attempt at denazification, re-education, and the economic problems faced, are bluntly discussed. It is noted that Zink leans to the same thought of building a new, democratic Germany, emphasizing the importance of an industrial rebirth of the country. As he points out, had the United States been in Europe and suffered physical damage to its industrial plant, we would have been keen to re-establish German production for purposes of reparation. That is where Britain and Russia see the question from another angle.

There is a chapter on relations with the German population, showing the non-fraternization goal first set up, then allowed to crumble because of its impractical nature. Zink thinks we must stay in Germany for at least 10 years, and must let this be understood abroad as a guarantee of continued interest. This entails adequate organization and funds. Even without cooperation from Russia and France, this should be our purpose, and one desirable result would be understanding on the part of Germans of our anxiety to help them restore themselves as useful citizens.

BRIEFER COMMENT

WORLD AFFAIRS

The internal troubles of Greece and her problems on the international level are well reported in *The Greek Dilemma:* War and Aftermath, by William Hardy McNeill, (Lippincott, $3.50). The author explains the differences in objectives of the several parties fighting for control: the Communists following Russian ambitions, and the group backed by the British. Beyond the political chaos McNeill found the economic status dangerous; over-populated and under-equipped for industry and commerce, Greece is the hot trouble spot of the moment.

There seems always to have been some organized effort to overthrow the Hitler regime. Alen Welsh Dulles tells about the plots and attempts to plot in *Germany's Underground,* (Macmillan, $3.00), including the bomb fiasco in July, 1944. He tells, from investigation as well as study of the Nürnberg testimony, about these conspiracies, always unsuccessful, and at the same time gives a general picture of the internal machinations of the Hitler group throughout the war.

One of the clearest recent expositions of the Russian people, their habits and ideas is *Why They Behave Like Russians,* by John Fischer, (Harpers, $2.75). The answer is primarily fear of further invasion, plus pressures from the outside world against the Soviet pattern. Fischer is scarcely awed by the Rus-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sians; he sees their many weaknesses while he admits their general devotion to the party. Where he heard dissatisfaction, he reported it; however, so far it offers little threat against the regime. Altogether he manages to tell a lot about inside Russia through the conversations of her citizens, and in a sense it is reassuring; much of it reflects the social and economic revolution of a people unused to democracy.

BIOGRAPHY

The life story of the celebrated Russian author is outlined in *Fyodor Dostoevsky,* by J. A. T. Lloyd, (Scribner, $3.50), to show the peculiar nature of the man, his own tribulations and oddities, often reflected in his novels. Lloyd's treatment is sympathetic, coupled with a conviction that Dostoevsky portrayed actual life, sometimes his own, in his work.

Montgomery, a Biography, by Alan Moorehead, (Coward-McCann, $4.00), is an enthusiastic tribute to the victor at El Alamein. There isn't much of the unusual about his family and early life; it is the customary background of an old British line. The emphasis is on Monty's skill and acumen as a military genius. Moorehead goes all out for him, despite admission that there was and still is controversy on the point. One thing is sure; the general's showmanship was first water, and this biography makes the most of it.

Navy officials might hopefully label it fiction, but *Off My Sea Chest,* by Lewis H. Conarroe, (Holt, $2.75), claims to be biography, so biography it shall be. The author tells his experiences in the navy as an officer. There is no war in it, except for the perennial battles of intelligent men against red tape, claptrap and regulations. Conarroe recalls many idiotic incidents such as we've all heard from veterans; he tells his tales with humor and candor. The big boys wouldn't like its *lese majeste,* but it is hilarious reading and there must be some truth in it.

The Innocent Eye, by Herbert Read, (Holt, $3.50), is the story of his life, starting on his father's farm in Yorkshire and culminating as university professor, editor and writer of fine prose. While there is a little about the material Read in it, it is largely the development of an intelligence. It is in essay form and excellent reading.

FICTION

The rash of stories of adolescence and college days breaks out again in *My Name Is Christopher Nagel,* by C. W. Grafton, (Rinehart, $2.75). In fact it is so full of the rituals of college baseball and training that, except for a few warm spots, it could go into the juvenile department.

Even though it's a war story, *The Gallery,* by John Horne Burns, (Harpers, $3.00), is good fiction. Based on the occupation of Naples by Americans in the summer of 1944, Burns brings to life the Italian civilians who preyed on the soldiers yet loved them and hated them simultaneously. It is worthwhile because the war is only background for everlasting human nature at its worst, and some of it at its selfless best.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Fanciful and yet rooted in the material misfortunes that beset Europe in the war, *The Enchanted,* by Martin Flavin, (Harpers, $3.00), is an adventure story worthy of a permanent place. It deals with seven Spanish children, displaced in France, and then led to escape from the oncoming Germans through perilous adventure. With the dreary prospect come thoughts and moments of emotional beauty, told in the language of artless children.

Dario, by Percy Winner, (Harcourt, Brace, $2.50), called a fictitious reminiscence by its author, tells the story of an Italian fascist's career through the war and his evolution into a Communist. Winner tells the tale in the first person as an acquaintance and friend, in an endeavor to show the life of a budding political aspirant. Some prominent international figures partake of the events.

Prince Hubertus zu Loewenstein continues his interpretation of the period of the Crucifixion and events in Rome shortly after in *The Eagle and the Cross,* (Macmillan, $2.75). For his purpose Tiberius, Seneca and others fill the leading roles, while the hero carries on the hope of Christianity's spread.

MISCELLANEOUS

The Report of the Committee for the study of Recent Immigration from Europe is not only a record of the tribulations of the unfortunates but an analysis of many of these histories. *Refugees in America,* by Maurice R. Davie, (Harper's, $4.50), with the collaboration of five members of the committee's staff, is a document of sociological and historical value.

A Treasury of Mexican Folkways, by Frances Toor, (Crown, $5.00), is a picture journey through Mexico, with text to relate customs, myths, beliefs and traditions. There is a section devoted to music, with the words in Spanish and English, and the music itself. The book seems designed for popular use.

Yank reported the war's progress for the enlisted men, so that the numerous incidents which together made the war were written in soldiers' language: plain, unvarnished but direct. These contributions, selected and edited, are now offered in book form in *Yank—the GI Story of the War,* (Duell, Sloan & Pearce, $5.00). It is a real history, seen entirely from the ranks, with tales of individual action and terse bits of battle, with many illustrations. Possibly it is better history than textbooks.

What the Jews have accomplished in Palestine is shown by text and picture in *Promised Land,* by Ellen Thorbecke, (Harper's, $3.50). The old history of the Holy Land is summarized to give the background. The present system of settlement, the method of work and the social life, and the industrial efforts are given in detail to show what is being accomplished.

The Catoctin Conversation, by Jay Franklin, (Scribner's, $3.00), is an imaginary meeting in 1943 of Roosevelt, Churchill, Hanfstaengel, Baruch and Hopkins. The war and the world are informally discussed, with some humorous and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

some shrewd observations in the guise of conversation. Well worth reading.

Howard Watson Armbruster tells the sinister story of I. G. Farben, the German dye and chemical trust, in *Treason's Peace,* (Beechhurst Press, $3.75). This is a militant exposure not only of the German organization, but of the individuals and companies here tied in with Farben. Unless the facts are true there should be libel suits, and if they are true the American public needs awakening.

An attractive guide book to New England is the second volume of the Look at America series, *New England,* by the editors of Look, in collaboration with Mary Ellen Chase, (Houghton, Mifflin, $5.00). The volume is mostly fine photographs, aided by directories of information on sundry topics. A brief introduction to the early history and geographical characteristics of each state helps understand the section.

Maurice Hindus interprets the changes in Czechoslovakia since liberation in terms of a social and economic revolution, in *The Bright Passage,* (Doubleday, $3.00). Based on his own investigations, his sympathies for Russia seem founded not only on the fact that it is his native land, but on his opinion that the Czechs lean toward the Soviet not necessarily as Communists but as a reaction from German edicts against religion and Czechoslovakian traditions. Hindus is optimistic about the future of "the little country."

The City of Women, by Ruth Landes, (Macmillan, $3.00), is an anthropologist's narrative of what she learned about the mysterious cult of candomble, a vital force in the lives of Brazilian Negroes. The author visited Bahia to see for herself, despite the dangers incident to delving into the secret practices of priestesses in a more or less primitive land. It is well written and interesting enough for the general reader to enjoy.

Carlo Levi, Italian doctor, philosopher and writer, made the most of a year's banishment ordered by the Fascists in 1935. Compelled to live in the barren wastes of southern Italy, he devoted himself to the impoverished peasants. In *Christ Stopped at Eboli,* (Farrar, Straus, $3.00), he paints a remarkable picture of a miserable people, superstitious, unaided by science or religion, and hopeless. The book's earnest atmosphere and lucid phrasing make it a minor classic.

Ideas of freedom for the natives in various parts of the Orient vary, but hunger for some form of i persists. Ralph Coniston inter viewed important figures in th East, and gathered information from drivers, business men an clerks. *The Future of Freedom i the Orient,* (Norton, $3.00), is th result, and it contains many inter esting observations on the ways o the people, their limitations an their potentialities for the future.

Dust on the King's Highway, by Helen C. White, (Macmillan $3.50), is both biography and fic tion; it is based on the life and ad ventures of a Spanish missionary Father Garces, in the land of th Yumas. With its background o Indians and pioneering in the latte part of the 1700's, it presents historical setting and a story that i

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

not swift but detailed and good reading.

Home Country, by Ernie Pyle, (Sloane, $3.75), is a liberal selection from the pre-war columns of Pyle, mostly about his fellow countrymen, with a few pieces about Hawaii and elsewhere. It is the old Pyle, friendly, curious and gentle, interested chiefly in plain folks and their ways.

It is rather startling to find *Spring in Washington,* by Louis J. Halle, Jr., (Sloane, $3.75), actually a book about spring, and not the political season. Halle barely mentions the human denizens; he is more concerned with the birds, the trees and nature generally. It is in fact a volume of entertaining, rambling essays on wild life.

The evolution of American fiction is described and analyzed in *The Shapers of American Fiction.* 1798-1947, by George Snell, (Dutton, $3.75). Dividing the sheep from the goats in four classifications, he covers the Romantics, Apocalyptics, Tempermentalists, and Realists. From Cooper to Farrell there is keen appraisal, and much criticism of value to literary folks.

The second year of publication of the *Associated Press News Annual: 1946,* edited by De Witt Mackenzie, (Rinehart, $5.00), covers the news of that year as taken from A.P. reports month by month. It makes a reminiscent record of events, covering not only world affairs but domestic news in many fields. It is indexed for topics, persons and events.

The comeback of the United States Navy from the Coral Sea to Empress Augusta Bay, is well told in *Battle Report,* Pacific War: Middle Phase, by Capt. Walter Karig and Commander Eric Purdon, both U.S.N.R., (Rinehart, $5.00). Prepared from official sources and with photographs, it presents a graphic picture. The authors have not dramatized the record; the engagements, major and minor, are dramatic enough. This is the third volume in the series.

Drive carefully: don't insist on your rites.

—*Auto Club News*

* * *

Exclusive War Department definition of loot: if it's worth less than $5,000 and can be lifted by a 20-ton deck crane, it's a memento.

* * *

The Secretary of the National Institute of Diaper Services is protesting Ford's national billboard poster displaying a naked baby: "A baby without a diaper is completely untypical of America."

* * *

The Goshen, Indiana, Salvation Army officers received the following note from a transient: "Thanks for the food and lodging. In return, I fixed the light meter so it won't register."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COUNTRY COMMENT

Two GIRLS were picking apples in an orchard. One was Polish (back one generation), the other Irish (back several generations). Perhaps the nationalities are not important.

As the Polish girl leaned from her ladder toward a large McIntosh, she said, "I won't be picking apples much longer."

"Why not?" asked the Irish girl.

"I'm going to be married in November."

"But it's only the middle of September now."

"Oh, but I have so many things to do to get ready."

"What have you to do," asked the Irish girl reaching out for a distant Mac herself, "except to wash your face and put on a clean dress?"

For an inspired reduction of marriage, at least of a wedding, to its simplest terms, what more could one ask? Of course, if the Irish girl had ever been married herself or had been going to be, she might have seen things in a more complex light. Yet though she spoke as an outsider, I can never recall her remark without a lightening of the heart, a lifting of the spirit, a glimpse of "that blessed mood," as Wordsworth says, "in which the burthen of the mystery, in which the heavy and the weary weight of all this unintelligible world, is lightened: that serene and blessed mood in which the affections gently lead us on."

The greatest benefactors of mankind have been the simplifiers, especially those saints and thinkers who have made simple what in the intellectual and spiritual realm once seemed difficult. Jesus spoke of two commandments. Saint James put religion into one sentence. Socrates said, "Know thyself."

I wish somebody would tell this to the authors of two books on etiquette I see advertised in *The New York Times Book Review*. One book, a "complete guide to good manners" and containing 668 pages, is in a lower left-hand corner. The other, a "modern guide to social behavior" and containing 615 pages, is in a lower righthand corner. Across the page from each other, they make a bid for the attention of the prospective bride, promising to tell her "what to do about invitations, trousseau, rehearsal, reception, and all the myriad details of a wedding."

"But haven't you heard?" I should like to say to the authors. "Dear Mrs. Post and dear Miss Wilson, haven't you heard that marriage has become really simple at last? I overheard it with my own ears in an apple orchard in September. All the bride of today need do is to wash her face and put on a clean dress."

—*ROBERT FRANCIS*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Theatre Arts

By John Gassner

THE subject of this incomplete essay is high comedy, and the ovocation is John Gielgud's pro-ction of William Congreve's *ve for Love.* Written by the eatest of Restoration wits in 1695, s comedy has enjoyed continuous tical esteem. With *The Way of World,* written in 1700 by the ne "Phoebus Apollo of the Mall," marks the peak of the English nedy of manners. Yet it has en decidedly overshadowed on the ge by *The Rivals, The School Scandal, She Stoops to Con-er* and many inferior plays. The nventional explanation is that the nglish stage suffered a sea-change er the seventeenth century. Puri-n conscience reasserted itself after e frivolous interlude of "good ng Charles's golden days."

The explanation has not only nsiderable historical validity but plicability. Neither the return of histication with Wilde and Shaw r the brief revels of scepticism ter the first World War has ma-ially changed the rules. Comedy the English-speaking countries is, r better or worse, largely senti-ental comedy. In England, James M. Barrie proved the success of the formula, which consists of one part acetic acid and nine parts saccharine. Sentimental comedy allows us to roam far indeed, so long as it keeps us on the leash of convention. Barrie's sentimentality was not merely a matter of tears and smiles; that alone would not have assured him success in an age that was shaken by the iconoclasm of Shaw, St. John Hankin and Stanley Houghton. Barrie presumably also purveyed scepticism, cynicism and unconventionality. But no sooner had the customer bought the commodity and thought himself in complete possession of it than he found it taken away from him by the "little minister's" sleight-of-hand. A perfect example is *The Admirable Crichton.* The customer thought he was getting a "transvaluation of values" when the perfect butler became master of the island while his employers became his servants. But the old values were neatly restored when the family was brought to England. The butler returned to his low estate and obsequious manner, the employers recovered their high es-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tate, and all was right with the Churchillian world.

The case of Noel Coward, once considered an *enfant terrible* of the stage, is somewhat more complicated. On the evidence of *Private Lives* and *Blithe Spirit,* Coward would seem to be the exception to the rule of sentimentality. He was regarded as such and acclaimed as a model of daring by the post-World War I generations. Overlooking the *Cavalcade* patriotism, the *Point Valaine* melodramatism, and the tragic banalitites in Coward's work, many of us noted his bright and breezy sophistication and called him blessed. We saw the mask but failed to catch the face, which is that of a Harley Street doctor who knows that the old virtues of clean living and plain thinking — home, hearth, exercise, and good diet—are the best no matter how often his profession keeps him in touch with the aberrations. Moreover, whenever Harley Street lets itself go, it is as sentimental as the veriest bourgeoise. Coward's fancied sophistication is skin-deep. It is an effect rather than an ingrained reality. The champagne is really beer and pretzels. We are fooled because when the clever magician is in good form and is putting on a show he is entirely a showman.

If the show is comedy the mood must be gay, and Coward knows how to be gay without making his audience uncomfortable by assaulting them. That would be bad for business, and Coward is a good business man. He has convictions, it is true, but they are so close to the average customer's notion of honor, patriotism and decency, that they never startle. He is, indeed, never so bad as when he occasionally forces himself to startle them, when he tries for sensation, as in *Point Valaine*. His forte, when he isn't cutting capers, lies in hewing to the line laid down by respectability. That is why he can be so successful with plays and films like *Cavalcade, In Which We Serve* and *Brief Encounter*. *Brief Encounter,* for example, is an excellent motion picture, and it seems extraordinarily adult in its treatment of a middle aged romance because it departs from Hollywood's jejune romances. But can anyone imagine anything more favorable to the norms of behavior, the conventions of our morality. Wife eschews an extra marital romance that threatens to become tawdry and returns to a forgiving husband. Absolutely proper people return to the proprieties after a brief encounter with impropriety.

In spite of many decades replete with bright hucksters of humor Bernard Shaw remains the lone heretic, in splendid isolation on the tight little island. The reason for this is, paradoxically, that he has been the only genuine moralist among them. Only a man who like Shaw could insist that all true art must be moral, that indeed life without moral passion is worthless, would have the impulse to upset the apple-cart. Shaw was the only one who really didn't like the apples. Being reverent he could follow irreverence to revolutionary lengths. Being inveterately responsible to standards of his own, he

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ould hack away at the average nsual man's standards with such cutting edge as to invite the charge f irresponsibility. Only Shaw's eterodoxy was the genuine article ecause it was his particular, dearly cloved and fondly cherished doxy. nd this exclusiveness was the final ısult to the other peoples' doxy.

It might be argued, of course, ıat in this respect Shaw was him-lf a sentimentalist. That is surely ıe case, not only because no senti-ıt man is completely devoid of ntimentality but because humani-rianism and freedom are senti-ental conceptions. The greatest retics are probably the greatest ntimentalists. (A brilliant Jesuit ıce said to me that he hated senti-entality as much as he hated here-. Pursuing the argument further, noted that in causation or effect resy was invariably a form of ntimentality.) That is also why ey are formidable. The man who without attachment is never dan-rous because he is automatically moved from the fields of propa-nda and action. He who knows e price of everything and the lue of nothing has no incentive. is indisputable, however, that in s time Shaw has been the only ritish comedian who, whatever the ason, has exploded accepted senti-ent. If he has occasionally up-ld convention, as in *Candida,* here a wife remains loyal to her ısband, it has been for an uncon-ntional reason and purpose. If has doffed his hat to genuine ıodness (as in *Androcles and the ion, The Devil's Disciple, The ewing Up of Blanco Posnet*), he has done so unsentimentally, and his good people invariably under-mine the established order.

Congreve's way—and we return deviously to Congreve!—was dif-ferent. So far as one can tell, he was completely devoid of moral passion and reformatory intentions. Although a sharp observer of the manners of his time, he evinced no desire to correct that which he ridi-culed. His was the true Olympian attitude, which he shared more or less with his colleagues of the Restoration stage,—and this is an-other way of escaping sentimental comedy. If Gielgud's revival of *Love for Love* is nowhere so satis-factory as his production of *The Importance of Being Earnest,* it is because he has played Congreve's comedy for sentiment. As the well-read reader may recall, the main complication in *Love for Love* arises from the fact that the young blade Valentine has squandered a fortune in pursuit of the elusive beauty An-gelica and is in danger of being dis-inherited in favor of his sailor brother Ben until Angelica outwits his father.

In producing *The Importance of Being Earnest,* Gielgud understood that Wilde's farce was to be totally disconnected from reality regardless of the possibility of finding more than a modicum of social satire in the writing. *The Importance of Being Earnest* was plainly a farce; the complications were wholly im-probable; and the main character could not be taken seriously even for a moment. Gielgud's course was then clear, and his play-acting was unmitigated by any symptom of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

emotion. In retrospect, Gielgud's playing of "Ernest" in a vein of comic melancholy may indeed have been less deliberate than it was characteristic of the fine actor who gave us one of the best modern Hamlets about a decade ago. Nonetheless, the effect was inviolably comic. His earnestness in a maze of self-created nonsense could only make the role doubly amusing. He made Wilde's comedy fantastically unreal by behaving as though it were real to him, and the incongruity between the actual situations and his serious response to them was inexhaustibly funny.

Congreve seems to have fooled our talented actor and director. Either that or Mr. Gielgud is incapable of relinquishing the role of Hamlet! The melancholy Prince was much in evidence in his playing of Valentine. This is patently wrong, of course. Valentine's past prodigality, his social intercourse in a "Utopia of gallantry" (as Charles Lamb put it), and playing madman in order to thwart his father's plans disconnect him from the world of genuine emotion. So does the tone of Congreve's writing, not to mention Congreve's extravagant gallery of absurd characters. Joyfulness rather than melancholy must be the tone of the production, and the play must emerge as a revel of high society with only one frame of reference —namely, the absurdity of man in an artificial world. Congreve may have fooled Mr. Gielgud, I say, because, unlike Oscar Wilde in *The Importance of Being Earnest,* Congreve dealt with the absurd rather than the impossible and therefo predicated Valentine's love for A gelica on greater reality than "E est's" love. But Mr. Gielgud sho not have been so fooled. Howe genuinely Valentine may love Angelica at heart, he cannot aff to manifest seriousness in his mil nor is it true to his character reputation to do so. Besides, C greve's game simply cannot be pl ed that way, or it ceases to b game, in which case it ceases to a comedy. We can, at most, all Valentine a few scattered mom of seriousness. We can indicate t there is a real lover behind mask, but we must do so with lightest flick of expression, Congreve's comedy is about m not faces.

Mr. Gielgud plays Valentin a love-sick melancholiac, a fel of great nobility but little spiri victim rather than the creator circumstances. This perform nearly ruins the jest, labors comedy, and casts a pallor on entire façade of artificial com Angelica, for instance, is played Pamela Brown with absolute ri ness of wit and gaiety, and it i Gielgud's credit as a director he did not cloud this superb formance. Yet Gielgud as a does the reverse. It is difficul take pleasure in Pamela Bro charade while Valentine is so pla miserable. One keeps on wis she weren't so inviolably clever, the sake of the poor decent fel Did not good breeding inter one might call her a name or If Valentine, on the contrary, played as the man of mettle

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

we believe Congreve drew, we wouldn't mind a bit; in that case, lad and lass would be well matched, and we could settle down to watching the sport that our somber modernists call the duel of the sexes. Then one could leave sobriety to Valentine's devoted free-speaking friend Scandal, admirably played by George Hayes, enjoying him as the one real person because he is the only uninvolved one and the objective observer of the antic world.

Still, Congreve and the Restoration are at some distance from us. No one, except the management, is hurt because the frolic is strained. No living author is getting his bones and career broken, and the stream of contemporary drama is neither polluted nor dammed up by what has happened to *Love for Love*. Besides, the revival was not unenjoyable and offered many gratifications, not the least of them being the portly Sebastian Cabot's impersonation of Buckram, a lawyer. Here is a character or caricature straight out of Dickens. In Mr. Cabot's performance, moreover, we have a pleasant reminder of how apt the English are in giving the dimensions of reality plus heightening style to literary creations. The excellent British film, *Great Expectations,* is the best current example of this. Neither Broadway nor Hollywood has given much indication of talent for dramatic characterization. We usually encounter a foreign actor (and behind the scenes a foreign director) when we come across a really impressive personality on our stage or screen—that is, an image of a human being so distinctive that he is a work of art, like a Donatello statue or a Titian portrait. It is difficult to set up a native personality nowadays to compare with, let us say, Barry Fitzgerald, Robert Morley, Charles Laughton, Leopoldine Konstantine, Adrienne Gessner, or Mr. Cabot.

Of real concern to us is the estate of high comedy in America. Farce or low-comedy has posed no problems for us. Nor did high comedy while Philip Barry, S. N. Behrman, Robert Sherwood, and the other members of their generation were fresh and their spirits unclouded by the fumes of a deteriorating world situation. The need for another succession of comedies is great if our theatre is to flourish, and there is hope, of course, while we still get a *Harvey,* a *State of the Union* or a *Born Yesterday*. But the reading of over a thousand plays in manuscript during the past three years convinces this correspondent that American comedy has been feeding on a starvation diet. How to nourish it is a question I shall not attempt to answer. But equally important is the problem of removing impediments to proper nourishment. The greatest impediment is an inhibition first foisted upon us by inept left-wing criticism that measured everything with the yardstick of "correct" political thinking, and is now perpetuated by the alarms of a world that has not been able to recover from its anxieties and fears. Can new Congreves and Shaws arise even in small dimensions until we define the functions and procedures of comedy for ourselves?

DRURY COLLEGE LIBRARY
Springfield, Missouri
PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FORUM FEATURES

The editors of FORUM are pleased to present the opposing viewpoint on the interesting subject of proportional representation by **Ferdinand Hermens,** Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Notre Dame. **Mr. Hermens** was born in Nieheim, Germany, in 1906 and became a naturalized United States citizen in 1939. He received a Ph.D. in Economics at the University of Bonn in 1930 and spent a year in postgraduate work at the Faculté de Droit in Paris and a year at the London School of Economics. In addition to writing several distinguished books in German, **Mr. Hermens** is author of **"The Tyrants' War and the People's Peace,"** published in 1944. Readers who are interested in further details on the article, **"Proportional Representation is a Risk!"** will want to refer to **Mr. Hermens'** book, **"Democracy or Anarchy?"** (with an Introduction by C. J. Friedrich), published in 1941.

Felix Hirsch, author of **"Two Years After Potsdam,"** on page 85 of the August Forum, is a professor of European History at Bard College. **Mr. Hirsch** received his Ph.D. in Modern History at the University of Heidelberg, and before coming to this country was political editor with two leading liberal newspapers in Germany: the *National-Zeitung (Acht Uhr Abendblatt)* and the *Berliner Tageblatt.*

Robert Francis, whose country commentaries continue to delight the casual FORUM reader, was born in Upland, Pennsylvania, in 1901, but has lived most of his life in Massachusetts. **Mr. Francis** graduated from Harvard College and received his Master's degree at the Harvard Graduate School of Education. **Mr. Francis'** published volumes of poems include **"The Sound I Listened for"** (1944), **"Valhalla and Other Poems"** (1938) and **"Stand With Me Here"** (1936).

We should like to point out other features of particular interest to FORUM readers this month: **"The Power of the Soviet Press,"** by **Sidney B. Fay,** Professor Emeritus of History of Harvard University; **"Shall We Indoctrinate Our Children?"** by **Professor Monroe Beardsley,** of the Yale University Department of Philosophy. We invite you to take issue with **Mr. Beardsley,** or with either the affirmative or the negative of this month's FORUM, **"Should Congress Pass the Stratton Bill?"**

Turn to FORUM'S study of the Congressional debate for a clearer picture of the Reed-Bullwinkle Bill controversy.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED